

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
LIFE
THE

HISTORY

ADVERTISEMENT.

Of the LIFE of

REGINALD POLE.



In TWO PARTS.

OXFORD.

PRINTED BY WILLIAM JACKSON.

Sold by him, and D. PRITCH, in Oxford; T. PAYNE, Minster-Gate; and
J. MARRS, in St. Martin's Lane, London; and S. GARDNER, at Farnham.

MDCCLXIV.

THE
HISTORICAL
Y R O T S H

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Purchasers are desired to defer the binding of the
Second Part for about half a year, as it is fresh from
the Press; after which, it may be bound in one Volume with
the First without any injury to the Impression.

IN TWO PARTS.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
LIFE
OF
REGINALD POLE.

PART II.

By THOMAS PHILLIPS.

Nam quis nescit, primam esse Historiæ legem, Ne quid falsi dicere audeat? deinde, ne quid veri non audeat? ... vult etiam, quoniam in rebus magnis memoriâque dignis, consilia primùm, deinde acta, postea eventus expectantur, et de Consiliis significari quid Scriptor probet, et in rebus gestis significari non solum quid actum, aut dictum sit, sed etiam quomodo: et cum de eventu dicatur, ut causæ explicentur omnes..... hominumque ipsorum non solum res gestæ, sed etiam, qui famâ ac nomine excellent, de cujusque vitâ atque naturâ.

CICERO, de Oratore, lib. ii. § 14.

OXFORD:

PRINTED BY WILLIAM JACKSON.

Sold by him, and D. PRINCE, in Oxford; T. PAYNE, Mews-Gate; and J. MARKS, in St. Martin's-Lane, London; and S. GAMIDGE, at Worcester.

MDCCLXIV.

THE HISTORY
OF THE
LIFE
OF
REGINALD POLE.

PART II.

By THOMAS PHILLIPS.

Non quis nescit, primam esse Historie legem, Ne quis fesse dicere audeat ?
deinde, ne quis veri non audeat ? ... cunctis etiam, quoniam in rebus magnis
memoridique dignis, consilia primam, deinde acta, postea eventus expec-
tantur, et de Consiliis significari quid Scriptor probet, et in rebus gestis
significari non solum quid actum, aut dictum sit, sed etiam quomodo :
et cum de eventis dicatur, ut causae explicentur omnes... dominumque
ipsum non solum res gestas, sed etiam, qui fama ac nomine excellent,
de cuiusque vita atque natura.

CICERO, de Oratore, lib. ii. § 14.

OXFORD:

PRINTED BY WILLIAM JACKSON.

Sold by him, and D. PRINCE, in Oxford; T. PAYNE, Mezz-Gate; and
J. MARKS, in St. Martin's-Lane, London; and S. GARDNER, at Worcester.

MDCCLXIV.

CONTENTS.

PART II.

SECTION VII.

CARDINAL POLE, on *Edward VIth's* death, is appointed by the Pope, **LEGATE** to the Princess *Mary*, p. 1. The purport of his Credentials, p. 3. and of his Letter to the Queen concerning this Commission, p. 4. The Queen's answer, p. 7. the French Ambassador informs his Court of these measures, p. 9. Character of the Princess *Mary*, at this period of her life, p. 10. She defeats the treasonable designs of the Duke of *Northumberland*, p. 12. Declaration of that Nobleman at his execution, p. 15. By what Acts the Queen began her Reign, p. 16. She sends the **LEGATE** a detail of her affairs, and asks his advice, p. 18. What conduct he judges most salutary, p. 22. He sets out on his journey to *England*; and dispatches from *Trent* a Courier to the Emperor and French King, and informs them of the peace he was to negotiate, on the part of the Pope, between the two Courts, p. 29. Is stopped at *Dillingen* by order of *Charles V.* The reason of this stay, p. 30. The Queen's marriage with that Monarch's son agreed on, p. 31. Advances towards a return to the ancient Worship made by the English Legislature, p. 33. *Wiat's* rebellion; the Queen's masterly Speech, by which she exhorts the Citizens of *London* to oppose it, *ibid.* Suppression of the Rebellion: And manner of Lady *Jane Gray's* death, p. 35. The Emperor consents to the **LEGATE's** coming to him at *Brussels*, p. 37. The Queen consults him concerning the vacant Bishopricks: The reason for depriving several Bishops of their sees, and the character of these Prelates, p. 38. Contrivance of a Pretender to the See of *York*, to thrust himself into that Archbishoprick, detected by the **LEGATE** and defeated, p. 40. The Emperor refuses to let him

Year.

6th Aug.

1553.

26th Sept.

6th Oct.

24th Nov.

1st Dec.

Jan. 1554

Feb.

- Year. him proceed on his journey till after the Queen's marriage with his Son: He sets out for *Paris*, on the treaty of peace between *Charles V.* and *Francis I.* draws up, on the road, a plan of it, of which an abstract is given, p. 41, *et seq.* The esteem he is held in by the French King, p. 47. On his return to *Brussels*, the Emperor still puts off his departure for *England*: His letter to the Court of *Rome* on a report that his disappointments made him desirous to be recalled; and his sentiments of the Queen's marriage with the Prince of *Spain*, p. 48.
- 25th May. Abstract of another letter which throws a light on his conduct in this whole negotiation, and on his character in general, p. 52. The Emperor, to justify the delays of the LEGATE's journey, will have his Legantine Powers examined by the English Ministry: Abstract of these Powers: Testimony given of the LEGATE in one of the Patents, in which they are contained, p. 56. The Queen's marriage with *Philip*: Qualities which formed the character of this Prince, p. 61. The LEGATE congratulates him and the Emperor on this alliance:
- 11th July. His Legantine Powers are enlarged, p. 63. Urges the Emperor to consent to his departure for *England*, p. 66. *Philip* sends over the Count of *Horne* to notify to him his marriage, p. 69. He informs the Pope of the objections made by the Emperor, to his proceeding on his journey, p. 70. The like hindrances put to it in *England*, and the LEGATE's remonstrance to *Philip* concerning them, p. 71. *Philip* sends the Emperor's Ambassador at his Court, to inform the LEGATE of the state of the Nation; his reply, p. 73. The English Ambassador at the Emperor's Court writes to the Queen the cogent reasons for the LEGATE's journey taking place, *ibid.* His attainder is reversed, and the Lords *Paget* and *Hastings* with a train of Gentlemen sent to invite him to his Country, p. 74.

S E C T. IX.

- 22d Nov. CARDINAL POLE met at *Gravesend* by the Bishop of *Durham* and Earl of *Shrewsbury*, p. 78. Appears in the Character of LEGATE: His reception by the King and Queen, p. 79. His Speech in Parliament, which is answered by the High Chancellor *Gardiner*, p. 80. The manner in which he reconciles the Nation to the Catholic Church, p. 82.

- p. 82. Some Reflexions on this great Event, p. 84. At the request of the Magistrate, he enters the City of *London*, in quality of LEGATE : *Gardiner's* Speech on this occasion, p. 87. The substance of an important and accurate Act of Parliament, by which the Nation's return to the ancient Worship is confirmed by the whole Legislature; and the Abbey Lands settled on the Lay Possessors, p. 88, *et seq.* A groundless objection to this settlement made by *Fra-Paulo* and Bishop *Burnet*, p. 95, *et seq.* The LEGATE sends the Pope an account of this Revolution, p. 98. *Philip* writes to him on the same subject: Letters which pass between *Francis I.* and the LEGATE, on the same, p. 99. He informs the Pope of different concerns, p. 102. On the death of *Julius* and *Marcellus*, the Queen and French King are desirous to advance him to the Papacy; which measure is prevented by the sudden election of *Paul IV.* p. 103. In what manner the English Ambassadors, who are sent to *Rome* on the part of the Sovereign and Nation, are received, p. 105. The Pope erects *Ireland* into a Kingdom, p. 107. The LEGATE goes to *Flanders*, as Mediator of peace between *France* and the Emperor: Success of this negotiation, and his return to *England*, *ibid et seq.* He writes to the Governor of *Philip's* son, on the Education of Princes, p. 113. *Philip* sets out for *Brussels* to take possession of the Spanish dominions, p. 114. Appoints the LEGATE chief of the English Council, p. 115. The LEGATE with *Gardiner* reforms the studies of the University of *Oxford*, p. 116. Death of *Gardiner*, and sentiments of the LEGATE on this incident: Character of *Gardiner*, p. 118. The LEGATE calls a National Synod, which, under twelve Heads, sets forth the state of the Nation with respect to Doctrine and Morals: the chief disorders, which the errors and licentiousness of the two late Reigns had given occasion to: and the remedies which he judged most suited to the amendment of them, p. 121. The acknowledged excellence and fitness of these Decrees, p. 141. And the depraved condition of the People inferred from an observation made by the LEGATE at the conclusion of the Synod, p. 143.
- S E C T. X.
- For what misdeeds Archbishop *Cranmer* was attainted of high treason and condemned to death, p. 145. The LEGATE endeavours to bring him

Year.
30th Nov.30th Dec.
10th Mar.
1555.

23d May.

5th June.

8th June.

8th July.

16th Sept.

11th Nov.

- Year. him to a sense of his guilt, p. 147. He is condemned for Heresy, and the sentence revised and confirmed at *Rome*, p. 149. He abjures his past errors, in hopes of life, and then revokes his abjuration, and is put to death, p. 150. Instances of the like severity exercised by himself, for religious causes, in the former reigns, p. 152. Account of his education; his inconsistencies and prevarications in Religion under *Henry*, *Edward*, and *Mary*, p. 153. His claim to the Panegyrick bestowed on him by *Dr. Burnet*, examined, p. 157. Other Persons put to death for Heresy, p. 158. The statutes on which they suffered, p. 159. The treasonable practices which moved the Government to put these Laws in execution, p. 160. The LEGATE's moderation in these transactions attested by unexceptionable Vouchers, p. 162. And related by himself, p. 163. One Instance alledged as an Exception to this behaviour, p. 164. Who the Persons were who seem to have chiefly countenanced these cruelties, p. 165. Some Observations on the tenets and practice of the Church of *Rome* relative to the penalties inflicted on Heretics, p. 166. The LEGATE, on *Cranmer's* execution, nominated to the See of *Canterbury*, p. 168. Ordained Priest and Bishop, p. 169. By what works of Christian piety he signalizes the beginning of his Primacy, *ibid.* He is chosen Chancellor of the Universities of *Cambridge* and *Oxford*: His memorable letter to the Latter, p. 170. Revives the statutes; flourishing state of this learned and illustrious Body in his time, p. 172. His correspondence with *Ignatius of Loyola*, p. 173, *et seq.*
- 1st April, 1556. S E C T. XI.
- Nov. 1556. WAR between *Paul IV.* and *Philip*, p. 178. Origin of this Pope's malevolence to the English LEGATE, p. 180. He writes to *Julius*, p. 182. War declared between *France* and *England*, p. 184. *Julius* recalls the LEGATE and appoints *William Peyto* in his stead, p. 185. 25th Jan. 1556-7. The Queen opposes these measures: Letters which pass between the Pope and Her, p. 186. CARDINAL POLE lays down his character of Legate; his Letter to the Pope; dissimulation of the latter, p. 189. His enmity to the LEGATE's friend, *Pratt*, p. 191. The LEGATE's fine Remonstrance to the Pope, on these unbecoming proceedings,
- 14th June.

C O N T E N T S.

ix

ceedings, p. 192, *et seq.* The character of *Paul IV.* in the Note of Year.
 p. 192, *et seq.* The LEGATE's letter to the Cardinal of *Trani* on the 30th Mar.
 same subject on which he had wrote to the Pope, p. 200, *et seq.* Some 1558.
 Reflexions on the CARDINAL's behaviour during this ill treatment from
 the Pope, of which there is no farther mention, p. 204. Death of
Charles V. character of that Prince, p. 205. Motive to which *Thua-* 23d Sept.
nus ascribes his abdication, p. 206. *Fenelon's* remark on the same,
 p. 207. Death of Queen *Mary*, p. 208. The justice which Protec- 17th Nov.
 tant Historians have done to this Princess, *ibid.* and 209. CARDINAL
 POLE's last sickness, p. 210. His will, *ibid.* Account of *Aloysius*
Priuli, his Executor, *ibid.* *et seq.* Writes to the Queen a short time
 before he dies, p. 212. Prepares himself to die, p. 213. With
 what sentiments he hears the news of the Queen's death, *ibid.* The
 disposition in which he receives the last Sacraments, and dies, p. 214.
 His obsequies, *ibid.* Letter of *Paul Sadolet*, Bishop of *Carpentras*, to
 the Lord *Priuli*, on the CARDINAL's death, p. 215. 18th Nov

S E C T. XII.

The Character of CARDINAL POLE: His outward figure, habit of
 body, manner of living, p. 217. Temper, conversation, remark-
 able sayings, p. 218. Aversion to flattery and falshood, circumspec-
 tion in discourse, open and ingenuous Carriage, p. 220. Industry,
 learning, eloquence, style, p. 221. Method of studying the Scrip-
 tures, p. 222. The Works he left behind him, p. 223. Abilities
 for business and public life, p. 224. Exemption from vulgar passions,
 evenness of temper, p. 225. Facility in forgiving injuries exempli-
 fied in several instances, p. 226. Care of his Domestics; benevolence,
 generosity, and disinterestedness, *ibid.* *et seq.* Freedom from ambi-
 tion. Fortitude, and greatness of soul, p. 229. Gratitude, p. 230.
 Patriot spirit, and the proofs he gave of it, *ibid et seq.* Lenity towards
 those who dissented from the Church of *Rome*, p. 231, *et seq.* His
 love of solitude, and of what kind his retreats were, p. 233. Accu-
 racy in all the rites of the Church, reverence with which he performed
 the Liturgy, p. 234. The most common incidents furnish him with

C O N T E N T S.

an opportunity of inculcating virtue, *ibid.* His sentiments of the duties of Episcopacy, and the manner in which he discharged them, p. 235. The esteem he was held in by his Contemporaries exemplified in several instances, p. 237.

ERRORS of the PRESS besides those already corrected, in Part I.

Page 25, in the Note, the passage of Martin Luther should have been cited from *Walsingham's Search* made into matters of Religion: where it is quoted from the 5th Tome of Luther's works, fol. 481, edit. Jenæ.
p. 124, l. 18, a crime imputed to Anna Bullen might have been worded more correctly.

Page 125, l. 5, from the bottom, for tho, read the.
p. 158, l. 13, for debaced, r. debased.
p. 279, l. 16, for Pope, r. Pole.
p. 322, l. 4, for most, r. several.
p. 351, l. 18, for Paul, r. Pius.
p. 384, l. 14, for was, r. were.
p. 401, l. 5, for forget, r. forgot.

ERRORS in the SECOND PART.

Page 2, l. 14, for infine, r. in fine.
p. 48, l. last, for to, r. of.
p. 56, l. 1, for wrote, r. written.
p. 68, l. 7, from the bottom, for nformed, r. informed.
p. 73, is marked 37.
p. 95, l. 8, for wrote, r. written.
p. 96, l. 14, from the bottom, for intiled, r. intitled.
p. 97, l. 2, for plainess, r. plainness.
p. 100, l. 18, for ordered, r. order.
p. 104, l. 15, for to Lord of Noailles, r. to the Lord of Noailles, &c.

p. 163, l. 5, from the bottom, for nogo-
tium, r. negotium.
p. 183, l. 4, from the bottom, dele had.
p. 206, l. 1, of the Note, for oculis,
r. oculi.
p. 214, l. 16, for 17 Dec. r. 18 Nov.
p. 228, l. 10, for or offend, r. nor
offend.
p. 220, l. 5, after and, add the.
l. 11, after though, add of.
p. 232, last line but one, for quod,
r. quid.

HISTORY OF THE LIFE
OF
REGINALD POLE.

PART II.

SECTION VIII.

CARDINAL POLE, on Edward VIth's Death, is appointed Legate to Queen Mary. The purpose of this Commission.

Various obstacles and delays obstruct his journey to England; which, at length, takes place.

CARDINAL POLE had not been a year in his retirement at *Maguza*, when he was again called forth to action, and engaged in that lucid path, which did not end till it brought him to the meridian of the Career, which Providence appointed him to accomplish*. *Edward VI.* died on the sixth of July, 1553, which was observed to be the same day of the same month, on which his Father had put *Sir Thomas More* to death. As soon as the news of this event reached *Rome*, one of the Secretaries, by the Pope's orders, wrote to the **CARDINAL** the following letter. — "Having heard, a few days ago, of the death of the King of

Year,
1553

* *Justorum semita quasi lux splendens procedit et crescit usque ad perfectum diem.*
Prov. iv, 28. Edit. Vulg.

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE

England, his Holiness has thought proper to use all convenient diligence to bring back that People to the ancient worship, from which they are lately fallen: and, in order to effect this, he is minded to make use of your Lordship's counsel; which was likewise the sentiment of the whole Congregation of Cardinals. Whilst the Patent was yesterday making out, a Courier arrived from *France*, with the news of a revolution of affairs in that Kingdom, where the Princess *Mary* has been proclaimed Queen, with the universal consent of the Nation. The information gave his Holiness the greatest joy, and, having called the Sacred College, he let them know, that no method occurred to him more suited to the present exigency, or which had greater appearance of success, than to appoint your Lordship Legate to the Queen, to the Emperor, to the King of *France*, and, infine, to all Places, through which you should take your journey. The proposal was universally approved, and each one testified his satisfaction at the Event which gave occasion to it. We are now employed in getting ready the Letters Patent, which will be in the most ample form, and your Lordship will judge whether any thing further should be added. Your Lordship's Credentials, also, for each of the abovementioned Powers, are preparing, and will be sent, by an Express, to *Germany*, as we make no doubt of your taking that road, in order to confer with his Imperial Majesty, before you proceed on your journey.—His Holiness, therefore, entreats you to take on yourself this commission, for the service of Almighty God, the welfare of your Country, his own satisfaction, and that of the Sacred College and the whole Court of *Rome*.—It was, likewise, proposed in the Council, if it would not be adviseable to appoint the Bishop of *Worcester*, Nuncio, that, in case your Lordship thought fit to send him before you, and employ him any other ways, he may do it with greater dignity*.

* This Prelate was *Richard Pates*, 1540; but refusing to return to *England*, who was sent to the Emperor's Court in on a dislike of *Henry's* proceedings, he was

His Patents, therefore, shall be made out at the same time, and may be used or laid aside, as your Lordship sees fitting. You can stand in need, my Lord, of no directions or advice from us, as no one is so well informed of the measures it will be convenient to take, as yourself: the whole affair, therefore, is entrusted to your discretion, knowledge, charity, and zeal; and you have every one's good wishes, that the undertaking may be crowned with success*.

Rome 6th
Aug. 1553

The Credentials here mentioned are to the following purport: The Pontiff informs him, "that the slender prospect he had of concluding a peace between the Emperor and the most Christian King, had caused him to recall his Legates from those Courts: but, that he might not seem to give up all hopes of so desirable an event, he had charged him with the same negotiation; as, in his way to *England*, he would have an interview with one, or both of these Monarchs. My motive for so doing, says the Pope, is not grounded on any dispositions on their part to give ear to a salutary remonstrance on this head; but, because much depends on circumstances of time and place, and no one is better qualified than yourself to take the advantage of such opportunities. Your prudence and sagacity, and that art of persuasion which recommends all you say, may prevail, though the means hitherto tried have been ineffectual. I shall, therefore, prescribe nothing to you, in particular, but leave the whole affair to be managed as you judge most conducive to the dignity of the holy See, and the emolument of the Christian Commonwealth. You

was deprived of his Bishoprick in 1547; and, soon after, attainted of high treason. He continued in banishment all Edward's reign; during which he sat in the Council of Trent; and on Queen Mary's accession, was recalled home, and restored to his See, in 1554. In the 1st of Eliz. on refusing to take the Oath of Supremacy, he was, a second Time, deprived

of his Bishoprick; and, going abroad, assisted at the Close of the Council of Trent; and was alive in 1562. *Godw. de Praef. Angl. Far.* at the year 1559. *Lair. Hump. in Vita Juell.* pag. 179. *Ath. Oxon.* 694.

* *R. Poli Epist.* pars 4^a. pag. 109.

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE

22d Sept.
1553.

are already informed of my intentions, and of the sincere desire I have to see peace and tranquillity restored; and this long sought remedy applied to the distempered state of public affairs. Whatever measures, therefore, you think fit to pursue, I shall look on them as worthy your abilities, and deserving my approbation†."

As the management of the whole business was left to the CARDINAL, he was of opinion, he ought to be informed of the Queen's disposition, and the state of the Nation, before he set out on so hazardous an undertaking: he wrote, therefore, the following letter to her.

He begins, "by setting forth the great and unexpected turn in the Queen's fortune, which could be ascribed to nothing but a declaration of Heaven in her favour. A powerful Faction had set up a Rival; those at the head of it, had leisure and opportunity to strengthen themselves; she herself had, for several years, been reduced almost to the condition of a private person. All these were incidents which seemed to forebode her overthrow. Yet, when the affair came to be decided, a few of her faithful Subjects, who had dared to declare in her right, had overbalanced all these unfavourable circumstances; and, in an instant, brought the threats, the designs, the insolence, the attempts of her Enemies, to nothing. This, says he, can be attributed only to him who disposes of Kingdoms to whom he thinks proper, and changes the heart of man according to his good pleasure; whose counsels are not to be controuled by human strength or prudence. He observes, that this Event was too memorable a proof of a divine Providence, not to awake in the English a belief of it; which, though it was the base of all Religion; yet, on account of the long sway which the Wicked had exercised, was so little regarded, especially by those who were reputed more wise and prudent than the rest, that it seemed almost entirely forgot.

† R. Pol. Epist. pars 4^a, pag. 431.

Wherefore,

Wherefore, if any Woman might presume to praise Almighty God in the Words of the blessed Mother of his Son, it was Herself. She might truly say, *He had regarded the lowliness of his Handmaid — His arm had done mighty things — He had put down the mighty from their Seats, and exalted the lowly.*

Luke, ch.i.

“ He then goes on by telling Her, that a deep sense of religion, and zeal for her Majesty's person obliged him to desire her to call to mind, at the beginning of her Reign, by what steps such a confusion of human and divine right, as was but too visible in all private and public concerns, had been introduced; that, she would perceive the first cause of it to have been the ill-fated and unlawful divorce of the King her Father from the best of women, her Mother; which crime had been followed by his separation from the common Parent of all Christians, the Catholic Church: that, from this poisonous root all those misfortunes had sprung, which had corrupted the body of the People, and left few remains either of integrity or religion; both which had been banished when the obedience due to the authority established by JESUS CHRIST was laid aside; nor would be restored, but with it. She might credit him, he says, who had suffered so much both in that, and her Majesty's cause; and who had left nothing untried to serve her; that, if his endeavours had hitherto proved unsuccessful, the very disappointment now afforded him a singular satisfaction, as he visibly saw the hand of Providence declare itself in her favour. — He observes, that God had not permitted her to be assisted by any earthly Potentate, but had deferred her deliverance to that time, in which he had decreed to raise her by his own almighty arm; and, in the mean while, had dealt with her as he is used to do with his chosen servants, whom he leads to the prosperity, for which he designs them, by adverse fortune and the trials of patient hope. — He says, the eyes of all good men were intent on this great Event; and himself, in particular, having had more frequent opportunity of being acquainted with those

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE

those excellent endowments, which had distinguished her from her infancy; that, this knowledge made him more desirous to be informed of her present dispositions with respect to Religion, and those Means which were necessary to restore it: and, therefore, though he was appointed Legate of the holy See to her Majesty, the Emperor, and the King of *France*; yet the commission was of so delicate and important a nature, that he would not enter on it, till he knew her intentions, which he desires may be communicated to him by the person who was to deliver his letter. He adds, that this caution did not proceed from any distrust in her goodness, whom he had ever known most grateful to God for his mercies, and most observant of his laws, at the head of which was the acknowledgment of the Church's authority. This authority, he observes, ought to have a personal weight with her, whose Father had disowned it on no other account, but because it had been exerted in her cause, and against his lawless desires. — But as such a licentiousness had prevailed since this rupture, as must make a return to the ancient observance very difficult, he would have her Majesty's advice as to the manner and time, in which he might appear in the character of Legate, so as to answer, with greater advantage, the purposes for which he had been invested with it. He ends, with beseeching Almighty God, that her orders on this head may be suited to the expectation, which all well-disposed persons entertained of her: and doubts not to make it appear, if she is pleased to grant him a favourable audience, that the foundation and security of every good, which could be derived on her people, was to be built on the foundations which her subjects had forsaken*.

è Cœnobio
Megazeni
Benaci,
Ibid. Sex.
1553.

He sent this letter, which was wrote in Latin, by a special Messenger, who had orders to call on the Cardinal *Dandolo*, the Papal Ambassador at the Emperor's Court, which was then kept

* *Odoricus Raynaldus*, tom. xxi, *Annal. Eccles.* Epist. *R. Poli*, pars 4^a, p. 116, et 428.

at *Brussels*; and who, being in the neighbourhood of *England*, might send him more certain intelligence than he could have at so great a distance. *Dandalo* on this dispatched his Secretary into *England*, who having had frequent conferences with the Queen, and informed himself of the present temper of the People, went back towards the end of *August*, and, by an almost incredible expedition, performed the journey from *Brussels* to *Rome* within nine days. He called on CARDINAL POLE, who was still in the Monastery near *Benacus*; and the Messenger he had sent to the Queen, delivered him her Majesty's answer to his letter, which was to the following purpose.

"SHE begins by thanking him for the part he took in her being placed on the Throne of her Ancestors; and the singular providence of Almighty God in defeating the opposition which had been made to the justice of her title: and that she was no less obliged to him for the good will he signified for her Kingdom, which was, likewise, his own Country, and for the wholesome advice he had added to the above-mentioned articles. — Though she had not been united to him by the ties of consanguinity, yet such an unfeigned declaration of friendship would have the best claim to all the return she could make. — That she would endeavour to profit from his instructions, as much as her circumstances would allow, having ever been in those dispositions in which he wished her to persevere. — As to what regarded the submission and respect due to the Catholic Church, the bearer would fully inform him of her mind, and the anxiety she laboured under not to be able to declare herself, without any reserve on this head; but as soon as such a measure was adviseable, she would inform him, her very good Kinsman, of it. — The same Messenger was to give him an account of her Coronation, and of several other transactions, at which she would have him be present; and of the hopes she entertained that the present meeting of the Parliament would repeal those Statutes which had occasioned

fioned

at

sioned the late Evils. — She had a confidence, also, of obtaining pardon from the Pope of whatever had been blameable in her own behaviour; and had a grateful remembrance of the many instances of good will she had received from him; and entreated the LEGATE to be the Mediator of a perfect reconciliation. She concludes, by acknowledging the pledges of a Brother's love he had so often given her; and by recommending herself again to the Pontiff and himself*."

Westmin-
ster, 6th
Oct. 1553.

THE chief Articles which the Messenger was to communicate to the LEGATE, and which were to be secret to all but the Pope and himself, were, that the Queen, with the consent of her Parliament, would abolish the Laws, which her Father and Brother had passed against the ancient Worship; and send an Embassy of reverence and obedience to the holy See. In the mean time, she requested the Pope to pardon the English, in a public manner, that none might suffer for having come into the measures of the late Kings, and left the communion of the See of Rome: that REGINALD POLE might be sent Legate into England, with full power to transact all this; and reinstate the former faith and discipline. Besides these orders from the Queen, the Secretary had informed the CARDINAL, from *Dandalo*, that it was adviseable to defer, for some time, his journey to England.

THE same Messenger being arrived, at Rome, delivered to the Pope a letter from the Queen, in which she professed on her own part, and that of the Nation, the obedience and respect which all Princes, in communion with the Bishop of Rome, have ever acknowledged to be due to his See, without any diminution of their own prerogative, or prejudice to the rights of their People†. — The young Gentleman, *John Commendon*, who brought this news was, afterwards, raised to the purple, and esteemed one of the most able Negotiators of his age; and having passed through all those honours, by which the Courts, which employed him, could

* *R. Poli* Epist. pars 4^a, p. 429.

† *Gratiani* in *Vita Commendon*, pag. 33, et seq. testify

testify their sense of his merit, he, at length, survived his understanding, and died in obscurity. His reputation, however, has been transmitted to the latest posterity by *Gratiani*, Bishop of *Amelia*, who had been his Secretary, and has rendered his Patron that tribute of gratitude, which *Becatelli* paid to the memory of CARDINAL POLE, by writing his life in a greater detail, and with equal sense and elegance.

THIS intelligence caused the Pope to write to the CARDINAL, "that though much caution was requisite in the present affair, yet he would have him set out on his journey; but perform it in such a manner, as neither to prejudice the Queen's safety, nor the common cause. — That, this was his opinion, and that of the sacred College; yet it was left to his own piety and prudence, to his knowledge and experience; and to the advices, which he would receive with greater certainty and expedition than they could, to resolve on what was best, and take his measures accordingly*."

20th Sept.
1553.

SOON after this letter the LEGATE set out with a design of taking the road of *Germany*, and conferring with the Emperor at *Brussels*, before he proceeded any further. — In the mean time every thing in *England* seemed to favour the Religious Revolution, which was, soon after, effected.

THE French Ambassador at the Court of *England*, the Lord of *Noailles*, had already been informed of all the steps which were taken at *Rome*; and had acquainted his King, "that CARDINAL POLE was appointed Legate of the holy See to the Queen and the English Nation; that his Patents were already made out, and sent to *Verona* by the Bishop of *Burgos*, who formerly had been *Catharine* of *Aragon*'s ghostly Father: that, He was to take his road through *Germany*, and come directly to the Emperor, at *Brussels*; where, as he understood, he was to stay some days, and

4th Sept.
1553.

24th Nov.

consider on what would be the most likely means to make his presence most agreeable to the People of *England*. I thought proper, says the Ambassador, to give your Majesty this information, because I did not know but you would give orders to your Residents in *Germany* and *Switzerland*, to receive the LEGATE, in his passage, with distinction, as he comes on, so good and laudable a commission, before he reaches the Emperor: for your Majesty may be well assured, that if once he comes hither, he will have the first place in the Queen's confidence, to the no small displeasure of the Chancellor, and of several of the Nobility, who, on account of their religious principles, will see with regret a Churchman at the head of the Ministry *." He wrote to the King, some time after, that the CARDINAL's presence was very necessary for the Queen's affairs, and the mutual advantage which both nations might derive from it. I assure your Majesty, says this Nobleman, that besides the real need there is of his advice, He is, likewise, more universally wished for than I could have imagined, both by Protestants and Catholics †."

BUT before I enter on Queen *Mary's* Reign, which was the last and great Theatre, on which He appeared, who is the subject of this History, it may not be improper to give some account of the character, under which this Princess had hitherto been considered, and which may contribute to make what is hereafter to be said of her, more satisfactory. The education she received from her Mother formed her to that steadiness and zeal for the Religion of her Ancestors, which seems to have been the ruling principle of her whole conduct. This reverence, which we owe to the veracity and sanctity of the Supreme Being, either when he reveals his Truths to our Belief, or prescribes his Laws to our Practice, caused her to make that memorable reply, when *Charles V.* cautioned her to proceed slowly, and not declare her-

* Ambassades de *Noailles*, tom. 2, pag. 135. † *Ibid.* pag. 271.

self whilst the issue of affairs was yet uncertain; "That her trust in God alone had, first, supported her in the greatest streights of adverse fortune; and, then, raised her to a Crown: wherefore, she was resolved to use no delay in testifying her gratitude to Him, to whom she owed her safety and dignity; but to do it immediately, and in the most conspicuous manner*." It being, in that age, fashionable to give young Ladies of high birth a tincture of literature, *Lewis Vives*, the *Quintilian* of those times, instructed her in the Latin language, under whom she made so considerable a progress, as to write tolerably well in that tongue. The inaccuracies of a letter of hers to CARDINAL POLE, which is preserved in the *Bodleian Library*, are a strong presumption, besides the subject, that the whole, as it now stands, is the composition of the Princess†. Her Father, on divorcing the Queen, had obliged her to subscribe to her own illegitimacy; but being, afterwards reconciled to her, and the Parliament having settled the order of Succession, as he thought fit, she was substituted to her Brother *Edward*; and her title to the Crown became as legal and parliamentary, as it had always been just and natural. He, moreover, allotted her 10,000 l. as a Dower, and settled on her 3000 l. a year: a large maintenance in those days, and equal to five times as much in ours. She suffered much during her Brother's reign, from the importunities made use of to compel her to renounce the Catholic Religion, and the indignities offered to her Chaplains, to all who belonged to her, and to her own person: and the answers she returned to the young King's letters,

* — Ut monenti *Carolo Casari* consilium ne approperaret, neve tam immaturis rebus sese indicaret, responsum sane memorabile reddiderit: Se, dum deserta destitutaque in sua calamitate jaceret, non alterius spe atque ope, quam Dei sustentatam; ad regnum inde provectam fuisse: Itaque statutum sibi, cui salutem et dignitatem deberet, ei non cunctanter aut

obscurè, sed statim ac propalam gratiam profiteri. *Grassius*, in *Vita Commendoni*, pag. 36.

† It is pasted on the blank leaves of King *James* the first's works, published by Bishop *Montacute*, and presented to the University by that Monarch.

her expostulations with him and the Lords of the Council, by whose orders she was disquieted, are made with a dignity becoming the uprightness and integrity of her own proceedings; the near relation she bore to the Crown; and her knowledge of their evil purposes, to whom the King, her Brother, was entirely given up; and shew a resolution which was not to be shaken, and which she exerted, to the full, on *Edward's* death, and in the following manner*.

DUDLEY, who was created Duke of *Northumberland*, had caused the late King, when he was leaving the world, and his mind reduced as low as his body, to exclude the Princesses *Mary* and *Elizabeth* from the succession, and substitute in their place the Lady *Jane Brandon*, whom he had married to *Robert* Lord *Guildford*, his fourth Son. She was the Daughter of *Frances*, Duchess of *Suffolk*; and descended by *Charles Brandon*, from *Mary* Dowager Queen of *France*, and Sister to *Henry VIII.* After *Edward's* Sisters, therefore, the Duchess stood next in relation to the crown, as the Scottish line, by *Henry's* disposition, was supposed to be set aside: But the Mother had relinquished all claim to Royalty, that she might see it settled on her offspring; and *Northumberland*, in order to strengthen his interest with the Nobility, had, at the same time, intermarried his Sons and Daughters into the principal families.—The whole privy Council (Lord Chief Justice *Hales* excepted) and *Cranmer* the Primate, at the head, had subscribed to these unwarrantable measures. The Lady *Jane* alone, who had every claim to Royalty, which beauty, knowledge, and moderation can confer, and who was the most interested in this new settlement, was the only person who opposed it, and did all that depended on her, to refuse a crown, which she was obliged to lay down within a few days

* *John Fox*, vol. 2, pag. 1337, &c. where the original Documents concern-

ing the Princess *Mary* are put down at length.

after

after she had, with so much reluctance, accepted of it. Her Father-in-law, on *Edward's* death, had caused her to be proclaimed Queen, and it having been formerly a custom for our Sovereigns to spend the first days of their accession in the Tower, he conveyed her thither; and the privy Council being obliged to attend, were, by that means, his Prisoners. The universal hatred which his violence and ambition had raised, made the proclamation of the new Queen be heard with sullenness and dissatisfaction; and when *Ridley*, Bishop of *London*, employed his rhetoric against the Princess *Mary*, at *St. Paul's Cross*, he had been heard with as little favour, as the Heralds who proclaimed her Rival.

The Princess had not been wanting to herself in these streights, who, by the intelligence she received from the Earl of *Arundel*, had narrowly escaped the snare laid by *Northumberland* to get her and her Sister in his power, by concealing the King's death, and counterfeiting his orders to them both, to repair to him, as he stood in need of their comfort and advice. Being apprized of this conspiracy when she was within half a day's journey of *Greenwich*, where *Edward* died, she retired first, into *Norfolk*; and, then to *Suffolk*; and summoned the Nobility and Gentry to support her claim, and offered a general pardon to all who had been wanting to the allegiance due to her. Besides these circular Letters, she notified to the Lords of the Council, "the settlement of the Crown, by Act of Parliament and her Father's will; which disposition, she says, was corroborated by other circumstances, of which they, the Realm, and all *Europe* were informed: that the public Records made it appear with such evidence, that no true and faithful subject could be ignorant of it; and that she had caused it to be published and proclaimed accordingly. She lets them know, that though she was, by no means, ignorant of their designs and contrivances against her lawful claim, she was, however, willing to put the most favourable construction on their meetings and proceedings.

Kenning-
Hall, July
9th, 1553.

proceedings: and to avoid coming to force and bloodshed: and required them to cause her title to be proclaimed in *London* and elsewhere, as was customary." The Lords, on receiving these orders, returned an answer suited to the measure they had already taken; and let the Princess know, "the whole right to the crown of *England* to be invested in the Lady *Jane*, by the good order of the ancient laws of the Realm, and by the disposition of the late King: and they require the Princess to reduce herself to a private condition, in which case they offer her their good offices: otherwise, say they, she will be grievous to them, to herself, and the whole state;" and they are not afraid to allege, as the motive of their proceedings, "the heinous and unspeakable enormities they should incur, were they not to behave in this manner*."

THIS declaration neither intimidated the Princess, nor checked the zeal of the Abettors of her cause. The Earls of *Bath* and *Suffex*, the heirs apparent of the Lords *Wharton* and *Mordaunt*, Sir *William Drury*, Sir *Henry Beddingfield*, and Sir *Henry Jernigan*, appeared the first in support of it; and, having great influence in their respective Counties, brought in their Retainers and Dependents. Sir *Edward Hastings*, Brother to the Earl of *Huntingdon*, and Nephew to CARDINAL POLE, though he had a commission from the Council to raise Levies for the Lady *Jane*, joined the Princess *Mary*, at the head of 4,000 men; and the Fleet, which lay off the coast of *Suffolk*, declared for her. This opposition made the Duke of *Northumberland* think it necessary to take the field, and assert by arms a claim which was alike destitute of justice and popularity. His troops did not exceed 6,000 men; and when he came to *St. Edmundsbury*, he found himself too weak to risk a battle with the Princess's army, which was twice that number. He wrote, therefore, to the Council, to send him a reinforcement; but the Lords were so far from

* Fox, Acts and Monuments.

obeying

obeying the orders, that they made use of this commission to free themselves from their confinement; and being now out of his reach, and his power on the decline, they only assembled to deliberate in what manner to rid themselves of his Tyranny. The Earl of *Arundel* opened the conference, by laying before them the violence, ambition, and cruelty of the Duke, and the guilt wherein he had involved the Council, which, he said could not be expiated but by acknowledging and aiding their rightful Sovereign. The motion was seconded by the Earl of *Pembroke*; and the Mayor and Aldermen being sent for, they received the orders to proclaim the Princess, with great alacrity; and the same sentiments became universal. Even, the Duke of *Suffolk*, Father to the unhappy victim of *Northumberland's* ambition, finding resistance to no purpose, opened the Tower gates; from whence his Daughter returned to a private state, with more satisfaction than she had assumed Royalty. The Princess *Elizabeth* met her Sister at the head of 1000 horse she had raised to maintain their joint title; and the people thronged to meet the Princess as she drew near to *London*, and, every where, gave demonstrations of joy for her success. Orders being given to take the Duke of *Northumberland* into custody, he fell on his knees to the Earl of *Arundel*, who arrested him, and his whole behaviour was as abject, as, till then, it had been haughty and contemptuous. His guilt was of too deep a die to be effaced by any submissions; and his character made it unsafe for any Government to pardon such an Offender.

BEING come to the place of execution, he made a very remarkable declaration of the sentiments in which he left the world; which has been transmitted to us, at length, in his own words, and is to the following purpose. "He begins by acknowledging his guilt against Almighty God, his Sovereign, and the whole Realm; and that he had been in open Rebellion against the Queen, for which, though, of her own authority, she might have

Aug. 22d.
1553.

have sentenced him to death, yet she had been pleased to have him tried and condemned by law.—That, he trusted this had happened for the salvation of his soul, and to awaken in him a deeper sense of his offences.—That, being allowed an entire freedom of speech, he called God and All who were present to witness, he suffered for a cause, in which he had been engaged by other persons, whom he asked God to pardon.—He took this opportunity of declaring to them, that, some time before the death of King *Henry*, and ever since, he had been led astray by the reforming Preachers, which had been the principal cause of his misfortunes. He, therefore, cautioned them to beware of these profligate and seditious persons, *who had opened the Book of error, but knew not how to shut it.*—That ever since these new doctrines had been set on foot, God had given them up to themselves; and inflicted on them the severest of his punishments, war, sedition, riots, rebellion, plague, and famine.—He, therefore, exhorts them to obedience of the Queen; and to return to the true Catholic faith, from which they had, for so long a time, fallen.—They had examples of the like errors and the like ruin in *Germany*, which were well known to every one.—That, to go no further, the Creed taught us to believe in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Catholic Church, the Communion of Saints; and this was his very Faith, as the Lord Bishop of *Worcester* could certify; and all he had said, was not from any command he had received to speak in this manner, but his own free choice *.

Dr. Heath.

Two other persons were put to death with him; and eight more tried and condemned of high treason: whose Attainder the Parliament, which was called soon after, approved and confirmed by their Authority†. Amongst these were Lady *Jane*, and Lord *Guilford Dudley*; whose execution was put off, and, pro-

Titus, b. 2. Collier's Ecclesiastical History, vol. 2, b. 5.

Anno 1. Mariae, Sept. 2, c. 16.

bably,

bably, never would have ensued, had not a subsequent rebellion made it seem necessary to the Queen's safety and the tranquillity of the State. This was all the blood that was spilt in punishment of a rebellion of the deepest guilt, and in which so many of the Nobility and others were engaged. A general pardon, with few exceptions, followed these acts of Justice; the Queen remitted the subsidy which had been granted to her Brother; and no Sovereign seems to have ascended the throne of their Ancestors with more universal satisfaction of all orders of the Nation. One of the first Acts of the prerogative was to erect anew the Bishoprick of *Durham*, which had been dissolved in the late reign, and annex to it the ancient Regalities. She reinstated *Tonstal* in this See; and having appointed Commissioners to revise the causes of *Gardiner*, *Bonner*, *Day*, *Heath*, and *Vesey*, who were deprived in the last reigns for refusing to assent to changes then introduced, she restored them to the Bishopricks of *Winchester*, *London*, *Chichester*, *Worcester*, and *Exeter*. The Duke of *Norfolk*, who had been a Prisoner all *Edward's* time; and *Courtney*, son to the Marquis of *Winchester*, were set at liberty. During these transactions, the Queen had been crowned; and the circumstances which attended this ceremony, were a presage of the change which immediately ensued. She was met at the Abbey Church, to which she came with great magnificence, by three silver Crosses, and eighty singing men in rich Copes; so sudden a recruit had been made of these sacred Vestments. The new Dean, and several of her own Chaplains walked in this Procession, which was closed by ten Bishops, who remained of the Catholic communion, in their costly Mitres and Copes, and silver Crozier-Staves. A few days after the Coronation, a Parliament was summoned; at the opening of which the title of Supreme head on earth of the Church of *England* was given to the Queen. A high Mass of the holy Ghost was performed on this occasion, at which both Houses assisted; and, as an indication of the Queen's gra-

D

cious

cious purposes towards her People, the Session began by limiting all treasons to the Statute of the 25th of *Edward III.* and reducing felonies to such offences only, as were deemed so before *Henry VIIIth's* reign*. The extensions of misdemeanours, to which this guilt was annexed, having given scope to the cruelty and avarice of that Prince, nothing could be more popular, or speak a mind more desirous to favour the Subject, than to restrain them within their ancient chanel. — The Houses, likewise, declare, at the opening of the second Session, the validity of the marriage between King *Henry* and *Catharine of Aragon*, and repeal whatever had been enacted on a contrary supposition; they express their highest disapprobation of *Cranmer's* behaviour in that proceeding, of which, indeed, they give many shameful instances†. In the next place, all statutes made in the last reign, against the doctrine of the Church of *Rome* are repealed; and the divine worship, in all its branches, of which the statute enters on a large detail, is called back to the form it had at the death of *Henry VIII* ‡.

THE prospect of every thing which concerned the re-establishment of the ancient worship was too promising not to be communicated to the CARDINAL, who had it no less at heart than the Queen. Accordingly she dispatched to him *Thomas Godwell*, who was afterwards Bishop of *St. Asaph's*, with an account of these particulars; but which did not disguise the doubts and perplexities she laboured under, and tempered the joy which so unexpected a turn in affairs would otherwise have produced. I have not seen this letter; but the contents of it may be collected from a second, and a third, which she sent soon after; and by the answers which the CARDINAL returned to them all. She begins the second by referring him to what she had wrote by *Godwell*. "My Lord, says she, you understand, by my last letter, in what

* *Anno L. Marie. Sess. 1, c. 1.* † *Ibid. Sess. 2, c. 1.* ‡ *Ibid. Sess. 2, c. 2.*
situation

situation my concerns were, when I wrote to you, and for what reasons I desired you to delay, for awhile, your journey to *London*. The purpose of your Embassy is so suspected by my Subjects, and so odious to them, that an immediate arrival in these parts, tho' I wish it extremely, would be rather prejudicial, than any ways avail me. The proceedings of the Parliament put this beyond a doubt; and so strangely are the minds of the People prepossessed against the Roman Pontiff, that they find less difficulty in admitting all the other tenets of the Catholic Religion, than in the single Article which regards the subordination due to him. The upper House was of opinion, that all the Statutes which had passed since my Father's divorce from the Queen, and a little before that time, should be repealed; as, by this means, every thing would be cancelled which had been voted either against Religion, or the validity of my Mother's marriage. But, when the question came to be debated by the Commons, they presently suspected it to be proposed in favour of the Bishop of *Rome*, that the title of supreme head of the Church, which is annexed to the crown of *Britain*, might be given up; the Papal Power revived; and a facility procured of receiving you in quality of Legate. Were these apprehensions to cease, I understand there would be no difficulty either in repealing the Statutes made against the ancient Worship, or in ratifying my Mother's marriage. My fears are, that they will obstinately insist on my continuing to assume the Headship of the Church; and, if they do, I am not at a loss in what manner to reply. I will remind them of my constant attachment to the Faith I profess, in which I have been educated, and will persevere to the last — that I can consent to nothing, which my conscience condemns — that, the title in debate does not agree with Kings; as the Royal state, in spiritual concerns, is subordinate to the Sacerdotal: and the Jurisdiction of the Body politick being of a different order from that of the Priesthood, their power, dignity, and functions were distinct —

that there was a peculiar difficulty arising from my very Sex, to which nothing could be less suited than such a title, and the extent of power annexed to it. If I can obtain nothing more, I will entreat them to suspend for a time, at least, whatever regards a claim, to which I can never consent, till some other expedient be found out. If my Parliament neglects the equity of this demand, I am at a loss how to behave, and what measures to take. You, my Lord, are the only person on whose prudence I rely; and whose advice I ask, that I may act nothing contrary to duty, and extricate myself from this Labyrinth*." This Letter is wrote in Latin, as likewise the following, which was sent when she had heard from the CARDINAL, and after the Parliament had declared her Mother's marriage valid, and repealed every thing enacted, in the last reign, against the ancient Faith; though no mention had been made of the supremacy.

28th Oct.
1553.

"SHE assures the CARDINAL, how much she honoured his dispositions, with respect to the great affair then under consideration, to his Country, and to herself. I see, my Lord, says she, how useful and desirable the purpose of your Embassy into these parts would be, did the situation of my affairs, and the inconstancy of my People, who have been estranged from truth, make such a step either safe or practicable. But this is so far from being the case, that your arrival in these circumstances would be attended with great hazard; and instead of being received with the respect due to a Legate of the holy See, your life would be in danger. I think it, therefore, more adviseable, that you put off your journey, and the execution of your commission, rather than throw every thing here into confusion; and retard, instead of promoting the business you come on. As to myself, my Lord, you can have no doubt but your presence would be extremely welcome to me. You are acquainted with the since-

R. Poli Epist. pars 4^a pag. 119.

city

city of my affections, to which your constant good offices add a daily increase; and which receive a fresh sensibility from the remembrance of those adversities we have shared in common: nor is there any thing, I so ardently wish, as to see my Kingdom exempt from errors, reconciled to the common Parent of all Christians, and in a state of tranquillity. I perceive, however, that it will be impossible to obtain fully these desirable ends during the course of this Parliament: but that another must be called in three or four months, which is also the advice of my Council. — The Messenger who brings this, and is a person of confidence, will inform you, my Lord, that all the Statutes concerning Religion, which were passed in my Brother's reign, are repealed; and the divine Worship reinstated in the form it was at my Father's death. This point was not carried but after a sharp contestation, and the strenuous endeavours of those who are well affected to the cause of Truth: and all who wish well to me, and are of my Council, look on this event as a fortunate omen, and an earnest of the ancient Rights universally taking place. You will likewise understand that the Houses made no difficulty to declare my Mother's marriage, lawful; which is a tacit acknowledgment of that Authority, in virtue of which it was contracted. The Bearer will acquaint you with the machinations of the Scotch to disquiet our frontier, and keep up the troubles in *Ireland*. The French are not ignorant of this rebellious disposition, and they encourage it; and, for that purpose, as I am assured by my Spies, hold a correspondence with those who are enemies to the measures I am pursuing. I apply to you, my Lord, for counsel, and entreat you to take into consideration the state of my affairs, the plan I propose to proceed on, the obstinacy of my Subjects, and the difficulties I labour under. Let me know what conduct you would have me observe; and where you think me deficient. I am ready to execute, with great alacrity, whatever you, my Lord, and the Council, shall judge to be safe and advantageous to,

to myself and my People: and as so much is already advanced, I hope you will shortly come to *Brussels*, in the Character of Legate to the Emperor; from whence we may correspond more frequently, and with greater ease. I desire nothing more than to be assisted, admonished, and comforted by so able, so knowing, and so religious a Person. In the mean time, I will see what can be done to serve you, and I will undertake it with the best of wills. Farewell, my Lord, and may God keep you in his holy guard*."

London,
15th Nov.
1553.

I SHOULD be wanting to the regard which is due to the Reader, did I imagine he could take offence at the air of Religion which appears through all the CARDINAL's answers to the Queen, however unlike it may be to what we meet with in State papers. The Truth is, he considered himself as a Prince of the Christian Church, no less than a Minister of State; and that he wrote not only to a Queen of a great Kingdom, but to a Woman, in whose estimate duty held a higher place than a crown; and, accordingly, the measures he proposes to her, are equally drawn from the morality of the Gospel and human prudence.

"IN the first place, he desires her Majesty to ask, for her direction, that *Spirit of counsel and fortitude*, which he had implored in giving her his advice; that, as this double gift had manifested itself in her accession to the throne, it might still continue to govern her. — He reminds her, that had she wanted resolution when all human succour failed her, all had been lost; and if she does not continue to behave with the same courage in renouncing a title, which her Father had usurped, in order to divorce the Queen, her Mother, and deprive herself of her birth-right, she will render the present possession of it more precarious and difficult; and that she could never want motives to be as zealous in giving up a destructive claim, as others had been in assert-

* *R. Poli Epist. pars 4^a pag. 121.*

ing it to the worst of purposes. Her steadiness, he says, ought, on this occasion, to be the greater, as what was required, was only a compliance with an Article established by all laws, human and divine; whereas, in her Father's case, there had been a violation of both — He observes, that she had reasoned very well, in her second letter to him, on the distinct jurisdictions of the Kingly office and the Priesthood, and had rightly concluded the incongruity of her own Sex for the latter: he should, therefore, only add to what she had remarked, that, if the great Apostle forbids a Woman to teach in the Church; how absurd and iniquitous must it be to attribute to any one of that Sex the quality of supreme head of it? If a Woman, according to the same great Instructor of the Christian World, cannot be said to be the head of one man, to whom she is joined in marriage, because the Law of Nature has instituted Society on a different plan; both human and divine institutions forbid, she should be head of that numerous multitude, which compose a National Church. — She was, therefore, to consider this tenet as a matter of the highest importance, and for which, was it necessary, she should be ready to lay down her crown and life; as the best Men in her kingdom, *More* and *Fisher*, had done: but that any such sacrifice was so far from being required at her hands, that, on the contrary, her welfare here and hereafter was interested in resigning a Supremacy to that Power, in which God had invested it: and as she now had an authority which enabled her to act in so justifiable a cause, she could not escape the censure either of God or Man, if she did not exert it.

“ He comes then to the necessary means of accomplishing this affair, by having it ratified in Parliament: and this, he thinks, will entirely depend on the fitness of the person, who brings it into the House: that having long considered on this particular, he saw none either of the Spiritual or Temporal Lords, or any of the Commons, who could undertake it with propriety: The
Prelates

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE

Prelates having abetted the contrary opinion by vote and writing, which must greatly lessen their authority, when men heard them now maintain what they had formerly opposed: and as to the Lay Peers and the Commons, they were so biassed by lucrative considerations; and, by casting off the Church's authority, had got possession of her revenues, that they could not bring to the debate that impartiality which the matter required. — He saw, therefore, but one Person, in the whole nation, who could make the motion with proper dignity and would be favourably heard: that this person was Himself, who in this, as well as in all other points, had been blameless, and was appointed by Almighty God to defend both his cause and her own: and that if her appearance in the lower House was needful, he made no difficulty in advising her to take that measure. — He adds, she might communicate this resolution to a few of the Members, who had her confidence, and who might second the motion, and represent to both Houses, that, under the name of obedience to the See of *Rome*, no foreign yoke was meant to be imposed on them; or any kind of servitude, under pretence of any utility: that the Bishop of that See had no such view; and, if he had, she, the Queen, would never suffer it. — They may likewise add, says the CARDINAL, that, as this authority is to be acknowledged through my means, I will never agree to any deed, by which thralldom is brought on my Country; and they shall never be deceived by me. I would never have taken on me this negotiation but for the emolument of my Fellow-citizens; and that the papal Supremacy being admitted, may become salutary not only to this Nation, but, by their example, to others also, who have renounced it, and, by that defection, were fallen into great misfortunes.

“ Your Majesty, continues he, should, at the same time, signify my having been appointed Legate from the holy See to yourself and the Kingdom: and, that in order to appear in this character,

character, my attainder must be reversed, and myself restored to blood, to my honours, and to my Country — She well knew, he says, the injustice done to him and his Family, which was dearer to him than himself — that nothing could be laid to his charge, which deserved such a treatment, and all his crime consisted in refusing to consent to innovations, which were prejudicial to the Realm, and detrimental to the Prince who introduced them — That, as these Penalties had been inflicted on him by the authority of Parliament, however contrary to their better judgment and inclination, they were obliged, in conscience and honour, to repeal them; especially as he came a Messenger of reconciliation and peace — As a proof of the integrity of his intentions, he tells her, that though more wealth and honours had been conferred on him, during his banishment, than he desired; or, had it been left to his own choice, would have accepted; yet, if he was ever found to have swerved from what he owed to God or his Country, he was content to be banished for ever: but that, if the whole tenour of his conduct had hitherto proved the contrary, and that he had served the King, her Father, not only with the loyalty of a Subject, but with the obsequiousness of a Servant, and the affection of a Son; and had always endeavoured the real good of his Country, all this must form a strong presumption, that his dispositions were still the same.

“He desires her to weigh the displeasure which any further delay in accepting these gracious overtures would give the Pope; and that the sacred College could not but feel the indignity offered to themselves, if one of their Body was hindered from proceeding on his Embassy for such unsatisfactory reasons as had been hitherto alleged — That, in order to soften the offence, he had signified to his Holiness, that his journey was suspended but for a short time, and till matters could be disposed to a more easy and happy conclusion: and, to confirm this report, had already sent before him part of his baggage

E — to

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE

to *Flanders*, and ordered some of his Retinue to take the same route, and wait for him.

“ He adds, that as the Emperor had from the beginning been of opinion, that in what concerned Religion, and, namely, in renouncing the title of Supremacy, she should proceed with great caution, and not stir in the business, till her temporal affairs were more settled; he had endeavoured to let his Majesty see, that all procrastination in this point was prejudicial to herself and the Nation; and he refers her to the letters he had wrote to that Prince, by his Secretary *Pening*, of which he sent her Copies. He lets her know, he had prevailed on the Emperor's Confessor, who was then with him, and whom he had found to be a person of great sanctity and knowledge, to repair to him, and entreat him by the regard he had to his last and important stake, to his reputation, and the affection he bore her Majesty, to place himself above such worldly and unbecoming fears: of which instructions he had likewise sent her a Copy.

“ THOUGH he testifies great satisfaction at the Acts of Parliament, by which *Catharine of Aragon's* marriage was declared lawful; and the Statutes made in *Edward's* reign to the prejudice of the Catholic Religion, were repealed; yet he observes they were deficient in very material Articles, which he specifies at large. And because great knowledge and accuracy were requisite in what related to divine faith and worship; and few, in so general a defection, were qualified to indicate the whole extent of the Evil, or to apply a remedy; and it not being in his power to come in person, and give such information as was necessary, he had sent before him, into *Flanders*, among other persons of rank, two very well qualified for this charge; with one of whom he had a long and intimate acquaintance, and thought himself possessed of a treasure which few Princes were masters of; and that the other had given him the highest satisfaction ever since he had engaged in his service — That it depended on her Majesty either

to

to take their advice, or not; but, if she did, it was proper it should be known, they came on his part.

"He concludes by observing the wonderful providence of God over her innocence, her safety, and her dignity; and exhorts her, in a very pathetic manner, to establish the ancient doctrine, and abolish that Statute which had caused many spiritual and temporal Evils to the Kingdom, and had embroiled herself in much trouble, and endangered her crown*."

This is the sum of what the CARDINAL wrote to the Queen, both in the instructions sent by *Godwell*, and in a letter, in which he recapitulates and inforces what he had largely dwelt on in the former. He sent these dispatches from *Dillingen*, where the Emperor, for reasons I am about to relate, had detained him.

ENGLAND, since *Mary's* accession, was, on many accounts, become a desirable prize; and the several Competitors had considered it in that light which suited the quality of their different pretensions. The *Northumberland* and *Suffolk* families had contested the crown with the Princess, who was Heir to it: The swarms of foreign and domestic Sectaries, which, like Locusts, covered this land of promise, endeavoured to withstand the ascendant which the ancient Faith, every day gained; and now the Emperor looked on the Queen as the most desirable match he could procure for his Son, *Philip of Spain*. This Prince, hackneyed in the ways of ambition, and the lust of extent of sway, had not been inattentive to the incident of *Edward's* death, and the accession of a Sovereign no less connected to his family by affection than blood. His power, which had received great checks from *Maurice*, Elector of *Saxony*; and, very lately, from the Duke of *Guise*, who obliged him to raise the siege of *Metz*, and retire with the remains of an army of above 100,000 men, had shewn him the vanity of that destructive glory which is purchased

Delingæ,
1st Dec.
1553.

1552.

* *Cot. Lib. Titus, b. 2. Epist. R. Poli, pars 4^a, pag. 123.*

by the sword, and been an useful lesson to those Disturbers of Mankind, whom we absurdly dignify with the appellation of Heroes. He was desirous to compensate this reverse of fortune in the decline of life, by an acquisition which the present state of *England* seemed to assure to him.

ON this account, he was no sooner informed of the late King's death, but he put every courtly art in practice to avail himself of it. He conjectured, that the Spanish alliance would be ungrateful to the English nation; and that, if a reconciliation with the See of *Rome* was attempted at the same time, they would be still more averse to it: and, therefore, he either brought over the Queen to think that the CARDINAL's appearance, at that juncture, was unseasonable, and would prove prejudicial to her affairs; or he confirmed her in this opinion. With the same view, when *Com-mendon* set out for *England*, he was instructed to propose his Son's match to the Queen, in a private audience: to observe how the People were affected to her and the Catholic religion, and to magnify, on his return to *Rome*, the danger of sending, as yet, a Legate. He was not without some uneasiness, lest the singular affection the Queen bore the CARDINAL, and the general esteem he was held in by the Nation, might determine the choice she was to make of a Husband, in his favour: and she had been known to ask, if he might not be dispensed with the Deaconship, as he was not in Priest's orders. He apprehended him to coincide with the Nation's sentiment in a dislike of a foreign alliance, and he had gained over *Gardiner* to his interest. This Statesman was too well acquainted with the Queen's dispositions not to know, that, on the CARDINAL's arrival, he must resign the first place at the Council board, which he then held. Perhaps, likewise, he might persuade himself, (as nothing obliges us to refer every thing to selfish considerations) that, if his journey was put off, the Queen's popularity, which was visible from the success she had hitherto met with in whatever she had undertaken, would
in

in time wear away the prejudices with which a causeless hatred of the See of Rome had prepossessed the minds of the English; and, if the Spanish marriage was concluded before any further steps were taken towards a reconciliation with the Pontiff, the weight of such a connection would enable her to effect it with greater ease.

THESE reasons determined the Emperor, at all events, to hinder the CARDINAL from proceeding on his journey to England: and, in order to remove from himself the suspicion of being a party in any design which concerned Religion, though in his way to England, He was charged to negotiate a peace between the Courts of Madrid and Paris; he refused to admit him to his presence.

IN the mean time, the LEGATE had entered the Tyrol, without any mistrust of the obstacles which were prepared to every purpose of his journey. At Trent he was received with great magnificence, and every demonstration of esteem and good will by Cardinal Madruccio, Bishop and Prince of that City, who, in the late Conclave, had promoted his election to the Papacy, with a steadiness that nothing could shake. From hence he dispatched Parapalia and Floribello to the French King and the Emperor, to give them notice of his speedy arrival at their respective Courts, in order to effectuate, on the part of the Pope, a peace, which had been attempted so often, and to so little effect. Parapalia was a person of great skill and experience, and whom the LEGATE had made use of in former negotiations: and Floribello, who was one of his Secretaries, had a distinguished rank among the polite Writers of that Classic age; and how well he deserved it, his history of Sadolet's life, and some other works, are still a proof*.

* Hic Floribellus tum Polo ab epistolis erat; nunc est Lavellinus Episcopus, et à brevibus, ut vocant, Pontificis Maximi; Vir cum omni elegantiore doctrinâ

perpolitus, tum verò summâ latinè scribendi facultate et eloquentiâ præditus. Vita Poli, fol. 23.

OrtoTruf-
ches.

in 1549.

FROM *Trent* the LEGATE set out for *Ausburg*, and being within two days journey of that City, was met on the part of the Cardinal Bishop, who invited him to *Dillingen*, a town in the Circle of *Suabia*, and situated on the *Danube*; and where he had, a few years before, founded an University, and then kept his residence. He was received, in all the places through which he passed, with the same honours he had met with at *Trent**; and having made some stay with his munificent friend, he set out again for *Flanders*, though in the depth of winter, and a very severe season. As he was making all the expedition which the circumstances would admit, he was met on the road by *Mendoza*, one of the Emperor's Ministers, and who had formerly been his Ambassador at *Venice*, who delivered to him the following message: "That it would be highly agreeable to his Imperial Majesty, if he would not proceed any further on his journey; as this delay was conducive to the happy issue of the affair, on which he came: That notice should be given him, when a more favourable opportunity presented itself; and in the mean time, if he did not chuse to return to *Italy*, he might go to *Liege*; but was to remain there, and wait the Emperor's pleasure, as to the pursuit of his journey."

A LESS delicate sense of honour than the LEGATE's would have been more than sufficient to make him feel the indignity of this proceeding; but, as it was in vain to contend, he judged it most adviseable to go back to *Dillingen*, and from thence inform the Pope of what had happened. At the same time he expostulated with the Emperor, by letter, "how unbecoming it was, that a LEGATE of the holy See, who was sent on a negotiation of peace, and on other concerns of the most interesting nature, should be forbid access to his person, and be stopped in the very heart of

* Cum audisses me *Augusta* bidui iter abesse, tuos mihi obviam misisti, qui me, per castella et viços tuos, omni officii

genere persequentes, *Dilingam* ad te deducerent. R. Poli Epistolæ, pars 4^a, pag. 150.

Germany;

Germany: that such a scene could not but be very pleasing to the Abettors of the new opinions, under whose eyes it passed; nor fail, in *England*, where it would be soon reported, to spirit up the Adversaries of the ancient religion: he, therefore, entreated his Majesty to permit him to come immediately, and remove an obstacle no less disrespectful to the holy See, than prejudicial to the purposes of his Embassy. But *Charles* was deaf to any remonstrances besides those of interest and ambition, and refused to see the LEGATE, or even to give him leave to come nearer to *Brussels*, where he then kept his Court, till his Son's marriage with the Queen was concluded. — So great was his jealousy of the LEGATE's disapprobation of the Spanish match, and his design to divert the Queen from any thoughts of it, that he prevailed on Lord Paget and *Mason*, the English Ambassadors at his Court, to cause one of his Domesticks, who had been waiting for his Lord a month at *Lovain*, to leave the place*.

THE Pope having received intelligence of the Emperor's proceeding towards the LEGATE, signified to him "the concern he was under at the difficulties which were raised against the discharge of his embassy, and the obstacles put to his journey, to the designs of the holy See, and to the public good. — That, on this account, he allowed him to lay aside, for a time, as he should judge proper, his public Character, and go over to *England* as a private person: and, when the situation of affairs permitted it, to resume again his quality of Legate, and exercise all the functions annexed to it, so as neither to bring any detriment to his own person, nor yet to want authority when he acted for the Public†.

DURING this debate, the point which was to resolve it, had been decided in *England*. The Queen's marriage was looked on as necessary to the public welfare and tranquillity; and, in a public speech, which I shall have occasion to cite, and in which

* *Negotiations des Noailles*, tom. 2, pag. 244.

† *R. Poli Epist.* pars 4^a, p. 432.

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE

she seems to deliver her sentiments very ingenuously, she says, she had taken the resolution of marrying, in deference to the advice of the Council. The only thing, therefore, under deliberation was the person on whom the choice was to fall. There were Three, between whom the general voice seemed divided, *Courtney*, Earl of *Devonshire*, *CARDINAL POLE*, and *Philip*, Heir to *Charles V.* Prince of *Spain*: but *Courtney's* good mien seems to have been his principal recommendation; and *CARDINAL POLE*, with an infirm state of health, was in the decline of life. The Emperor, as has been said, had engaged *Gardiner*, who was chief of the Council, in *Philip's* favour, and had lately remitted a vast sum to purchase the concurrence of others, who might promote the same measure. The Queen's affection for her Mother's family, which she inherited from that Princess, who had always bore a singular love to her Nephew *Charles*, *Philip's* father, influenced the Daughter's choice, and gave *Gardiner* an opportunity of paying his court to her, at the same time that he seconded the Emperor's designs. *Philip* was a Widower, had one Son by a former Wife, and was eleven years younger than the Queen, who was eight and thirty. She may, likewise, be supposed to have considered the great foreign strength which this alliance brought with it, as an earnest of her future tranquillity, and what would either prevent or suppress those domestic disturbances to which she had hitherto been so much exposed.

He was
53 years
old.

400,000
crowns.

14th Jan.
1554.

THESE reasons had not the same weight with the Nation as with the Sovereign, and the general sense of the people was against the match. The Commons, as soon as it was known that *Gardiner* had proposed it in Council, had deputed a solemn Committee to the Queen, to remonstrate against a measure which they looked on as dangerous to the State: and the apprehensions of being embroiled in all the quarrels of *Spain*, and becoming, at length, a Province to that Kingdom, might give very well-grounded alarms. *Gardiner*, therefore, gave the Emperor to understand, that

that besides the influence of Spanish gold, every other means must be employed to remove the odium under which the marriage treaty lay; and, accordingly, such Articles were agreed on as might calm all fears of its consequences, and seemed calculated for the security, the interest, and even the grandeur of *England**: they were signed and ratified by Count *Egmont*, and four other Ambassadors, whom the Emperor had sent over for that purpose. Both houses of Parliament approved of them by every expression which could denote a sense of the advantages which accrued to the Queen and the Realm†.

5th April.

THE satisfaction the Queen had felt on carrying a point of such consequence with the consent of the Legislature, was heightened by the facility with which the Statute, which repealed whatever had been enacted in *Edward's* reign against the Catholic Religion, was brought into practice; as this seemed to indicate the general disposition of the People. Bishop *Bonner* being reinstated in the See of *London*, had celebrated Mass, a few days after, and continued to perform the whole divine Office, according to the use of the Church of *Rome*; and *Thorden*, Subdean of *Canterbury*, had caused the same to be performed there. Soon after, Orders were given to use the Roman Ritual throughout the whole Kingdom. This was a consequence of the Statute I have mentioned, which ordered Religious Worship to be recalled to the form it had at *Henry the VIIIth's* death‡, at which time the Liturgy was the same as before his breach with the Church of *Rome*; the Innovations which the Parliament now abolished having been introduced under *Edward*.

Aug. 5th,
1553.

Aug. 27th.

Dec. 20th.

THIS re-establishment of the ancient Worship, though enacted by the whole legislative authority, gave occasion to a Rebellion, which, as it always happens when such attempts fail of success,

* They may be seen in *Rymer*, vol. xv. pag. 377; and in the Statutes, I. *Mariae*, Parl. 2, cap. 2.

† *Ibid.*‡ Anno I. *Mariae*, Sess. 2, cap. 2.

only strengthened that Government it was designed to overthrow. Sir *Thomas Wyatt*, son to him, who, when he was *Henry's* Ambassador in *Spain*, would have murdered CARDINAL POLE, was at the head of the Rebels, and proposed to raise the Kentish men, while Sir *Peter Carew*, his principal Associate, did the like in *Devonshire*. The Duke of *Suffolk*, was prevailed on to join them, from a prospect of reviving his daughter, Lady *Jane Gray's* claim to the crown. The Queen, on the first notice of the rising, shewed the same presence of mind she had made appear at her accession; and delivered herself to the Citizens of *London*, in a speech, which I presume must please the Reader, as it is equal to any recorded by the Greek or Roman Historians, to have been spoken on the like occasions. She begins “ by informing them of the rebellion; the pretence of which, she says, was a dislike of her intended marriage with *Philip* of *Spain*: that the Rebels had the insolence to demand the government of her Royal Person, the custody of the Tower, and the appointing her Council.—She reminds her loving Subjects, that she was their Sovereign, to whom they had lately sworn allegiance, at her Coronation; on which day she was wedded to the Realm; and the Ring, which she then wore, and would ever wear, was the solemn Pledge of this mutual Covenant between Her and her People.—That her right by inheritance was known and acknowledged by all Christendom.—That, though not having been a Mother, she had not felt the tenderness which that relation brings with it; yet, if a like affection was ever found in a Prince towards his People, she gave them her Royal word, they should experience it from her.—She informs them, her intended marriage was resolved on by the advice of the Council, who had judged it honourable and expedient both to the dignity of the Crown, and the emolument of the Kingdom.—That, as to herself, neither an inclination to Wedlock in general, nor a fondness for any particular person, had influenced her in this determination.—That, she had hitherto

continued

continued a Maid; and doubted not, through God's grace, to have remained so; but had been determined in this affair by the desire of leaving an Heir to the Crown, as her Forefathers had done: and could she foresee this engagement would not redound to the honour and advantage of the Realm, she would never consent to it: and, as a proof of her sincerity, she gave them the word of a Queen, that, if her Commons, and the Nobility were of a different opinion, she would abstain from marriage as long as she lived.—She concludes with encouraging them to be as fearless on the occasion of this Rebellion, as she was; and tells them, the Lord *Howard*, and the Lord Treasurer would assist the Mayor in the defence of the City*."

SIR *Peter Carew* was the first of the Accomplices who appeared in arms, and being soon suppressed by the Earl of *Bedford*, fled to *France*. The Duke of *Norfolk*, and Sir *Henry Jernigan*, were sent against *Wyat*; but 500 Londoners having deserted from the latter, and joined the Rebels, the Duke retired, and took shelter in *London*. This success encouraged *Wyat* to march to *Southwark*; but finding the bridge secured, and the City not disposed to declare for him, he led his forces, which consisted of 4,000 men, to *Kingston*; and returning back towards *London*, though he entered *Westminster* without opposition, his Followers perceiving they were not joined by any persons of note, left their Leader to his ill-fated destiny, and Sir *Maurice Berkeley* seized him near *Temple-bar*. The Duke of *Suffolk*, who with his Brothers, the Lords *Thomas* and *Leonard Gray*, had endeavoured to raise the Counties of *Warwick* and *Leicester*, where their interest lay, were taken by the Earl of *Huntingdon*, at the head of 300 Horse, and led Prisoners to *London*; where, with *Wyat* and some of the chief Authors of the Rebellion, they were condemned and executed.

6th Feb.
1554.

* *Fox*, Acts and Monuments, vol. 2, pag. 1418.

THE guilt of the Duke brought on the punishment of his Daughter, the Lady *Jane*, which his ambition had first caused her to incur. The sentence had been put off above half a year, and, probably, would never have been executed, had not these last treasonable practices made the Government apprehend She would always be a pretext for turbulent Spirits to rise against their lawful Sovereign, and disturb the peace of the Community. These circumstances, which were to be imputed to the crimes and temerity of others, not to her own blameless character, caused her to experience a severity, which all the personal merit that pleaded in her favour, could not avert. No part of the late conspiracy was imputed to her, but she stood legally convicted, and was under sentence of death, for assuming Royalty at *Edward's* death.

THE sentence being intimated to her, she said, " she had deserved it, for usurping a Crown which belonged to another; but, at the same time, she related the little share she had in that transaction, and the constraint put on her by her family: that, it was no easy matter for a person so young as she was, to withstand the authority of a Father, and a Husband, and of so many of the Nobility; and it would be her peculiar fate, to be justly condemned, and yet die innocent." Her Husband, who lay under the same sentence, sent to desire he might give her the last assurances of his tenderness; to which she answered, " that such endearments did not suit their present situation, and would but encrease their affliction; and wished him to call off his affections from this world, and fix them on a better, where they should shortly meet to be separated no more." To great beauty, and all the softer accomplishments of female education, she had joined the knowledge of the learned languages, and had given much time and application to the Scriptures: a Study, which, however undertaken by the Sex on a specious principle of seeking Truth, but too often betrays them into errors, or confirms them in those
they

they have already imbibed. The Queen having appointed a very able and religious Clergyman to attend her in her confinement, and use all endeavours to convince her of the truth of the Catholic doctrine; the kindness, she said, came too late, and that she had not leisure to enquire after that Truth which she should soon behold in its Source: and, though her execution was put off, some days, on that prospect, she persisted in the same sentiments. The Constable of the Tower, who led her to the Scaffold, asking of her the book of devotions she held in her hand, she readily gave it him, after having first transcribed out of it, in Greek, Latin, and English, a sentence which imported that she died innocent, and hoped to find that justice from God, which had been denied her by Men. Being come to the place of execution, she looked with a placid countenance on the Crowd that stood round, and spoke no more than to bid them farewell, and be mindful of her innocence: and taking the Priest, who still continued his exhortations, by the hand, she thanked him for the many good offices she had received from him, and the concern he had expressed to bring her over to his opinion, as she very well knew he had proceeded on the best of motives: but told him withal, that his discourses had given her greater uneasiness than the apprehension of what she was about to suffer. Then kneeling down before the Axe, and covering her Face with her hair, she received the stroke which severed her head from her body. The sighs, the tears, and mournful silence of the Beholders, sufficiently witnessed what their sentiments were of the circumstances of her death, and of the decent and steady manner with which she submitted to it.

Sir John
Gage.

CARDINAL POLE was still at *Delingen* when the Articles of the Queen's marriage were agreed to, and the Rebellion I have spoken of, suppressed: and he availed himself of these incidents to prevail on the Emperor to permit him to have access to his person, and to put no further obstacle to his proceeding on his journey.

journey to *England*: for since *Mary* had entertained thoughts of marrying *Philip*, *Charles* had made her enter into his own jealousies and suspicions of the LEGATE's speedy arrival, and began to press it with less earnestness. With this view the LEGATE sent *Peter Soto*, who had formerly been *Charles's* Confessor, and was now at the head of a Seminary at *Dillingen*, "to entreat him not to put any further delay to an Embassy which was undertaken on no other motives but those of Religion and Peace: and to which the obstacles put on the Emperor's part, must redound greatly to his dishonour, to the detriment of the common cause, and of *England* in particular:" And the Emperor, who had now no longer any reason to caution himself against the offence the English might take at his receiving the LEGATE, consented to his coming to *Brussels*, and received him, on his arrival, with great shew of esteem and affection.

18th Jan.

THE Queen, some time before, had consulted the LEGATE, how she was to act with respect to the vacant Bishopricks; as she foresaw she should be obliged to deprive several who then held them, of their Sees; and she did not intend, in the choice she was to make, either to give up any rights of the crown, or extend the prerogative, and derogate from the authority which the holy See had enjoyed in those collations, before the Nation's breach with the Church of *Rome*. The CARDINAL had replied, "that the bearer of his letter, from the long and frequent conferences he had with him on this head, knew his mind so thoroughly, that there was no need of any written instructions, but he would inform her by word of mouth. About this time, therefore, the Queen issued out a Commission*, by which all the married Clergy were deprived of their benefices, as being disqualified to possess them. This inability, as extraordinary as it may now appear, was founded on the constant practice of the Western

15th and
16th Mar.

* Rot. par. 1°. Mar. pars 7°, and another translated by Bp. *Burnet*, part 2, b. 2. pag. 257, of his Hist. of the Reformation.

Church, ever since the establishment of Christianity; on the unanimous authority of the Canons, and the solemn engagement to Celibacy the Clergy take at their ordination; on the fourth of *Henry VIIIth's* six Articles, which the Parliament had passed into a Law, and which the late Statute, which recalled all religious matters to their condition at that Prince's death, had ratified; which made this Injunction as legal and parliamentary, as it was just and canonical. In consequence of these orders, *Holgate*, Archbishop of *York*, and the Bishops of *St. David's*, *Chester*, and *Bristol*, who had been Regulars; and, besides the promise made at their ordination, had broke the solemn vows made on entering on a Religious state; and those of *Gloucester* and *Hereford*, who were of the secular Clergy, were deprived; *Scory* and *Barlow*, Bishops of *Chichester* and *Bath*, who were in the same case, left the Kingdom*.—The Queen, soon after signified to

* It may not be disagreeable to the Reader, to have some account of the chief of these deposed Bishops, as it is given by Protestant Historians.

Holgate, Archbishop of *York*, not only made use of the indulgent doctrine, which, in *Edward's* reign, allowed the Clergy to marry, but extended the licence to take another man's wife. *Collier*, *Eccl. Hist.* vol. 2, b. 5, p. 349.

Robert Farrar was, first, Chaplain to *Cranmer*; and, then, by the Protector *Seymour's* favour, promoted to the Bishoprick of *St. David's*; but, on that Nobleman's fall, fifty-six Articles were exhibited against him, for which he was confined during the remainder of *Edward's* reign; and now degraded. *Ath. Oxon.* p. 679.

John Bird, Bishop of *Chester*, was a Carmelite Frier, and for his obsequiousness to the Court measures at the dissolution of the Monasteries, and a remarkable sermon in support of the Lay Supre-

macy, was promoted to a See in *Ireland*; from whence he was translated to *Bangor*, and in 1541 to *Chester*. He went all the lengths of *Henry's* and *Edward's* reigns, and made use of the indulgence which the latter allowed of taking a wife. Being deprived of his Bishoprick, he lived privately at *Chester* till his death, in 1556. *Bale*, cent. 11, N^o. 41. *Pitts*, de *Illus. Ang. Scrip.* *Godwin*, de *Præsul. Ang.*

Paul Bush, Bishop of *Bristol*, was an Augustine Frier, and had been Chaplain to *Henry VIII.* who promoted him to that See, for his compliance with the Court measures. But though he betrayed the same passive disposition during *Edward's* reign, and took a wife, he was never known either to preach or write against the ancient Religion. He readily gave up his Bishoprick at the Queen's command; and parted from his wife; and lived privately in *Bristol* till his death, in 1558. *Godwin* de *Præsul. Ang.* *Ath. Oxon.*

William

16th April
1554.

10th July.

the Pope, the concurrence of the Legislature, in what she had done towards the re-establishment of the ancient Worship; and the qualities of the Persons she had made choice of for the vacated Sees; and the Pontiff, in his answer, congratulates her on the first part of the intelligence; and, in the accustomed style of the Court of *Rome*, lets her know, he should shortly send the Letters Patent, in virtue of which the Bishops were to be consecrated, and put in possession of their respective Bishopricks*. With what discernment the choice of those who were nominated to the vacant Sees was made, and how deservedly those who had been deprived in the late reigns, for non-compliance, were now reinstated, the event verified: for, on the Queen's death, when the Catholic Religion was again proscribed, *Kitchen*, Bishop of *Landaff*, who, *Proteus* like, had put on all the forms of Religion of the three last reigns, was the only one of that venerable bench who submitted to this change. Neither loss of wealth and dignity, nor the hardships of prison and banishment, shook their firmness: and Dr. *Heath*, Archbishop of *York*, and Chancellor, at the opening of the first Parliament under *Elizabeth*, made a discourse on that Princess's supremacy, which for clearness and solidity, may vie with any of the pleadings of *Tully* or *Demosthenes*†.

ON a supposition that *Holgate's* errors and scandalous life had vacated his See; and, in this case, that the right of appointing a Successor was devolved to the Pope, the Pontiff had been applied to. On this, the LEGATE, who had intelligence of it, wrote to him in the following manner. I shall content myself with giving the Reader the substance of his letter, as I have met with nothing

William Barlow, Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, was a Canon Regular, and very active both in promoting the dissolution of Religious houses in *Henry's* reign; and forwarding the various innovations of *Edward's*. Being deprived of his Bishoprick on account of marriage, he fled to Ger-

many. *Godwin*, de *Præsul. Angl. Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1, pag. 156.

* *R. Poli* Epist. pars 4^a. pag. 435.

† *Hist. Col.* pag. 225. In the Original, this Speech is styled, *A Tale told in Parliament.*

else

else that throws any light on this dark transaction. He begins "by thanking his Holiness for the hopes he had given him of seeing an offence cease, which had been caused by the ambition of one who gave himself out for an Englishman. There are many reasons, says he, which make me desire that a design, which has its origin in craft and ambition, should meet with disappointment; but none more prevalent, than a persuasion, that, if this insidious manner of proceeding has success, there is hardly any thing can more alienate the minds of the English, who yet retain a respect for your Holiness; of whom, I make no doubt, there are great numbers, though they want resolution to declare themselves. They will be cast into utter despair of ever receiving any comfort from the Apostolic See, if their chief Bishopricks, and particularly that which borders on *Scotland*, with which Kingdom we are almost perpetually at war, are given away at the recommendation of the Scotch. I am particularly offended that this Candidate should overlook all considerations of the public good, and address himself, in a petition fraught with falsehood, first to your Holiness, and then to the sacred College, and endeavour, by so much subterfuge, to avoid the Certificates of his own Countrymen; if, as he says, he is a Native of *England*; which I must doubt, and imagine all this to be no more than a contrivance to thrust himself into a dignity, to which the natural-born Subjects of the Realm have a much better claim*." There is no further mention of this affair, which must be looked on as personal to his character, to whom it is imputed; but cannot, without great malignity, be perverted into a national reflection.

He had not been long at *Brussels* before the Emperor gave him to understand, he could not consent to his going to *England* till his Son's marriage with the Queen was over; and desired him to

* Epist. R. Poli, pars 4^a, pag. 41.

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE

suspend his journey. The reader has been already informed, that besides the LEGATE's primary Embassy to the Queen and the English Nation, he was charged with another to the Emperor and the French King, in order to put an end to a long and destructive war between those two powers, and bring about a reconciliation; which the Cardinals of *Imola* and *St. George* had in vain endeavoured, and had been recalled. He made use, therefore, of the leisure he now had to discharge the second part of his commission; and began the overtures of what might advance so salutary a design, at the Court where he yet was. The Emperor seemed to hear with approbation what the LEGATE's prudence suggested on that head; and answered, he was not averse to peace, if honourable conditions were proposed, and such as would procure a lasting concord: but that no negotiation could be set on foot, till the intentions of the French King were known*; on which the LEGATE set out for that Court.

WHILST he was on the road, he drew up the chief reasons which should prevail on the two Potentates to conclude a peace. This Discourse, which is long, and wrote in Italian, he proposed to leave with each of them. I shall give the Reader a summary of the most material Articles, as they discover the profound reflections the Author made on human Events, and the distinct and comprehensive view in which he considered what he took in hand.

* He desires these Princes, in the first place, to rank themselves in the number of those who look on war as a calamity; and a return of peace, as the greatest blessing which could befall the afflicted state of Christianity; and, therefore, to ask it of that Being, who alone could dispense it, so as to be salutary to themselves and their kingdoms.—He, then, desires them to consider the causes which had hindered their former treaties from being of

* *Vita Poli*, fol. 24, a tergo.

longer duration; and to avoid hereafter, the same obstacles: and, in order to attain this knowledge, they were to weigh the condition and form of these treaties, the manner of making them, their beginning and conclusion.—That they would perceive nothing, which moves Princes to make peace, and which human sagacity and industry could foresee and lay hold of, had been omitted on either side to bring them to a reconciliation.—The first of these motives, which is generally drawn from the exhausted state of the hostile powers, had often been their case.—A second inducement to peace, when one of the powers at war was so much superior, as to have his Adversary at his mercy, had not been wanting to the Emperor's good fortune with respect to *Francis I.* and seemed to promise an end to all future contention.—A third surety of concord had likewise been pledged by each of them, when, forgetting their past animosities, they voluntarily united in mutual peace, at the treaty of *Aigues Mortes*. Yet all these assurances were so far from being succeeded by a firm and lasting concord, that they only seemed calculated to make the flame of war break out again with greater rage: and this had happened not from any inability in the Negotiators, but from want of good faith, and those dispositions without which peace is not brought about. These treaties, therefore, like the buildings mentioned by the Prophet, which are not compacted with proper cement, but only plastered over to the eye, had fallen to pieces almost as soon as they were raised; and the contracting Parties had not only received no advantage from them, but great detriment, and, during these intervals, had been set on contriving mischief to one another, more than in time of war.

“He then comes to the constant disappointment which their mutual ambition had met with; since neither of them had obtained, through such a length of contention, either the honours or the increase of dominion which had been the object of such lasting strife. Every thing, on the contrary, had fallen out

against their expectation; and when contention ceased, the emoluments which were proposed from amity, had not followed; and contention and agreement had been equally unavailing to the desired end.—That the Emperor might be satisfied of this, if he reflected, not only on the situation of his affairs within these three or four last years he had been at war with the present King; but called to remembrance the events of *Henry II.* thirty years past or more, since these calamities began; and the almost perpetual state of hostility he had been in with *Francis* his Father. During which time, though there had been several conventions of peace; yet as they had not been attended, on either side, with sincerity, all that space was to be accounted a time of open or hidden war, rather than of peace.

“Now, if they would consider what acquisition they had made by such an expence of men and money, they would find themselves not only to have failed of what they aimed at, but to have exposed the Christian cause to great peril.—*Solyman*, by these proceedings, was become Master of two of the bulwarks of Christianity, *Belgrade*, and the Island of *Rhodes*: he had laid *Hungary* waste, as far as *Bude*, and conquered that long tract of Provinces, which is watered by the *Danube*. *Italy*, on both sides, was exposed to the insult of his fleets; the *Mediterranean* and *Adriatic* Seas infested by them; and, had it not pleased the Divine Providence to check his progress by the Emperor of *Persia*, there was nothing he might not have promised himself from our disagreements; and had, as things were, compensated his losses in the East, by what he had gained on us.

“If it be replied, that, notwithstanding these losses, you have made yourselves amends by adding several cities and provinces to your former dominions; the answer is ready, that, if the sums employed in making and securing these acquisitions be taken into the account, together with the wretched condition of these conquered states, you will be found, to have purchased no more than

than a slender appearance of utility, at the hazard of general destruction.

“THAT the Emperor could not imagine the signal favours, by which Providence had distinguished him, were designed for such purposes.—That, when he was born, *Philip* his Father was not King of *Spain*; nor would, afterwards, have been so, had not the death of the next in blood made room for him: nor was the French King the next Heir to the Crown; much less, his Father *Francis*.—That, they might both learn from the fortune, which had attended their respective families, they held their Kingdoms of Almighty God, by a peculiar tenure: and, if they stood in need of any other instructor concerning Providence, their own experience might inform them.—That, though the Emperor's dominions were larger than those of the French King; yet *France* was a more compact state, and the ready obedience of the Inhabitants gave the Sovereign an advantage which the other wanted. Notwithstanding which, *Francis I.* a youthful Monarch, who had a powerful army of veteran troops, and the means to support them, and had availed himself of this circumstance, and invaded the Emperor's hereditary provinces with a formidable force, was so far from obtaining the victory he had promised himself, that he lost *Savoy*, which he had lately, with so much glory, overcome.

“ON the other hand, the Emperor's disappointment had been so much the more sensible, as the greater number of his troops, and the abundance of all those aids by which war is carried on, seemed to give him a more assured confidence of success. After the taking of *Tunis*, he sailed from *Africa* to the coast of *Provence*, with a numerous Host, and at a time when the French King was, on all accounts, unprepared to make head against him; yet, there, he met with a defeat; as he did again, when, having conquered the Duke of *Cleves*, who had joined the French, and was esteemed the great support of that Nation, every thing else
seemed

seemed easy: yet here a town, on the frontiers of *France*, of small strength, and whose name is hardly known, checked this progress, and put an end to the war. And, afterwards, when the Emperor, in league with the King of *England*, made another attack on the French territories, it had not the event which was expected.—These lessons, he says, were sufficient to inform them, they had not received such extent of dominion to annoy and harass one another, but to look on themselves as Patrons of Justice, and Ministers of Clemency.—He concludes, by placing before their eyes the Evils, for which they are accountable to an all-knowing and inexorable Judge; and shewing, that their examination will be so much the more rigorous than that of private persons, as they will not be charged with their own personal failings alone, but with the misdemeanors of those who have governed ill under their authority.—That, if ambition had been the real motive of their wars, whatever others were pretended, it would be so far from alleviating their guilt, that they would undergo the punishment due to that variety of mischiefs, of which war was the cause; and if the least of these, when perpetrated by private persons, and tryed at a human bar, were deemed unworthy of mercy, how would their case be at a higher and more awful Tribunal? That, to sum up all he would say; the whole affair of peace, now in debate, did not so much depend on the conditions to be agreed on, which might be as easily broke as they were made; as on the dispositions the contracting parties bore each other, when they made the treaty. If they really intended the public utility, an equitable accommodation might soon be found; but if selfishness and private ends were the standard of the negotiation, though contention ceased, and an end was put to the war, the peace, nevertheless, would not be to their advantage, nor to that of the Public, but a beginning to more mischievous quarrels than those it seemed to conclude*.”

* *R. Poli Epist. pars 4^a, pag. 402.*

THERE are several pathetic addresses to both the Princes, thro' the whole discourse; and he represents the obligation they lay under of causing the Evils to cease, which afflicted *Europe*, and particularly their own Subjects, in every light it can be considered.

THE LEGATE arrived at the French Court in the last week of Lent; and the King having signified to him, that he could not have Audience till the solemnity of those days was over, he took that opportunity of sending his Majesty the discourse on Peace, which he had just finished; and, by a letter, wrote on that purpose, entreated him to weigh the arguments it contained. Being, afterwards, admitted to Audience, he urged the reconciliation he came to negotiate from such Principles as were drawn from his skill in public affairs, and the goodness of his own heart; and such as became his high birth and the dignity of his character. He repeated them to the Cardinal of *Lorrain* and the Lord High Constable, who were the Favorites, and the chief Ministers; but all to as little purpose, as the former attempts, which had been made to gain the same end. On his leaving the Court, the King signified in public his great regard for him, and the regret he had of being so late acquainted with his merit; adding, that had he known him when *Paul III.* died, no one else should have had his interest and recommendation for the Papacy*.

In his return to *Brussels*, as he approached the confines of the French and Austrian territories, he was witness of the sad effects of war, which had been chiefly felt in those places, where the very earth seemed to smother, and every thing wore the face of misery and devastation. Though his Embassy had not mitigated the hostile dispositions of the King of *France* towards the Emperor, yet he had not left his Court without some slender hopes of an ensuing accommodation; and these were greedily received and magnified by a ruined people, and ascribed to his abilities and good offices. The Inhabitants, therefore, of the frontier

**Vita Poli*, fol. 25.

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE

places, especially the women, the children, and the aged people, came out in crowds to meet him; they strewed the roads where he passed with flowers and odoriferous herbs, and hailed him as an Angel of Peace, by whose mediation the Destroyer's sword was, at length, to be sheathed*.

WHEN he came back to the Emperor, that Prince seemed displeased at his negotiation with the French King; and complained, that in the written discourse, which was alike addressed to them both, he had shewed a partiality to his Rival. This was one of those artifices, in which *Charles's* temper was very fruitful, and contrived to hinder the LEGATE's departure for *England*, which he was resolved should not take place till after his Son's arrival in that Kingdom, and his marriage with the Queen. His friend, Cardinal *Morone* informed him, that this intelligence had been sent to *Rome*; and it was added, that the LEGATE, wearied out with disappointments and contradictions, was desirous to be recalled. To which he made the following answer.

"He begins by testifying his concern at the displeasure which his Holiness had conceived from an information that his return to the Court of *Brussels* had not been agreeable to the Emperor; and that this news was the more unwelcome, as the Pope had entertained great hopes not only of recalling *England* to the unity of the Catholic Church, but also of treating of a peace between the Emperor and the French King. But that, supposing his arrival was as little pleasing to the former of these Princes, as it had been reported, he did not see what change this could cause in the affairs of *England*, as these had been carried on in consequence of the Letter which the Queen wrote to the Pope, of the grants of the vacant Bishopricks, and other Articles, which were placed out of all uncertainty: insomuch, that nothing seemed wanting to the desired success of this business, but the discussion

of the Church revenues, concerning which his Holiness's pleasure had been consulted.—That, as to the final reconciliation of the Nation, as the Bishop of *Winchester* had lately assured him, there had been no appearance of effecting it during the last Parliament.—Now, as to the conclusion of a Peace; it had nothing in common with the Emperor's supposed dissatisfaction; and could only affect his, the LEGATE's person, not the cause: but if he was, in any sense, connected with the general interest, there was nothing he was not disposed to do in order to promote it.—He well perceived, he says, that he had been represented as a person who did not approve of the Queen's marriage with the Prince of *Spain*, and that his taciturnity on that Article had passed for dislike; but that to every equitable person he must appear to have acted the only part which became him.—He did not deny, but whilst he was at *Dillingen*, though the marriage was the subject of all conversations, he had neither mentioned it in his letters to the Queen, nor ordered the Messengers he dispatched to her, from time to time, to take any notice of it; because he thought it would be a trespass on the respect he owed her Majesty, and detrimental to the principal business he had in hand, if he made any mention of such like affairs, before they were notified to him by the party whom they concerned.

“THAT as soon as her Majesty's Ambassadors, by her orders, had informed him of this piece of news, at his coming to *Brussels*; and that her motives for contracting this alliance were the desire of establishing the State on a solid and lasting foundation, and of leaving posterity to her People; he had then congratulated her on a choice which had been directed by such integrity and uprightness, and offered himself to serve both her and her Royal Consort to the utmost of his abilities; and that this had been the constant tenor of his conversations, both in public and private, ever since.—As a further argument of the sincerity of his proceedings in this regard, he alleges his behaviour to his Ne-

PART II.

H

phew,

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE

phew, whom, when he was in *France*, he forbid his house, and not only refused to receive several letters of disaffected and passionate persons, like himself; but earnestly entreated the French King not to give ear to such persons and such matters.—That, whoever considered the time and place in which he had behaved in this manner; with what a Prince he had to deal, who was very desirous to detain him in his Kingdom, and engage him in his views; and then reflects how suddenly he left that Court, must necessarily conclude, that the Emperor could no longer mistrust his zeal for his service; or be displeased with his departure from *France*.—Had I continued there, says he, several discontented English, not being informed of my dispositions, would have flocked to me; as I easily foresaw, from the great number who resorted to that Kingdom during the short stay I made there. In order, therefore, to take away all hope of my being a support to Faction, which the bare report of being in *France* would have kept up, I came away; and this, methinks, was doing the Queen and his Imperial Majesty some service; and shewed, at the same time, how sincerely I desired the tranquillity of my Country; and, were other reasons wanting, must justify the step I took.

“ He had moreover, he says, signified the same sentiments to her Majesty; for having wrote to her, very lately, on the Parliament not having concluded a reconciliation with the Catholic Church, and being desirous to mitigate the grief she suffered on that delay, he had considered it as a disposition of the divine Providence; and was willing to hope, that as a nuptial disagreement between an English King and a Spanish Queen had caused the breach, which was so much lamented; the connubial concord of a Spanish King and an English Queen would be the means of restoring the ancient union.—That, on this account, he offered up his supplications for the speedy and happy arrival of the Prince; as he made no doubt, but the very first Act of the Parliament, which would then be summoned, would be to enact what was to be

be the foundation of every good which was to be derived on their reign; and might well be expected from Princes, who held the concerns of Religion in that high esteem, in which the Supreme Being, and the very nature of things had placed them, that is, above all other considerations.

“ He adds, that he had not only wrote to the Queen in this style; but to those who seemed dissatisfied with the King for being a Foreigner; and doubted not, but the English would be as much undeceived in the good qualities of a foreign Prince, and the advantages they would reap from them, as they had been deceived, to the offence of the divine Majesty, and their private and public ruin, in that Prince who had chastised them with as heavy a rod as was ever felt, not only from an alien but an enemy. — In this strain, says he, I reason with all who discourse with me on the subject, whether they are pleased or not; and put on a sort of prophetic air, that I may pacify the malcontents; and, as far as words can go, confirm the well-meaning: and, if this behaviour is not sufficient to clear me of all suspicion, I know not what is; since any thing beyond it must appear affectation, to which my temper is very averse; and which, instead of persuading, creates distrust. And though, at first, the expediency of this marriage might seem problematical, yet, since it is concluded, I shall look on it as a presage of my Country's future felicity.

“ As for what he had done in *France*, towards a peace, the Cardinal, to whom he writes, was informed, he says, of the whole, and had seen the French King's answer, which was drawn up in such a manner, that the Emperor might take occasion from it either to continue the war, or make an overture of reconciliation; as the exorbitant demands which the first part of the Memorial contained, furnished a reason for continuing hostilities; and the other part gave an opening to the latter; especially, as he had informed the Emperor of what the French Ministers had told him by word of mouth. Infomuch, that had he been the

most artful of men, and had no other design than of serving his Imperial Majesty, he could not have brought to a more desirable Issue an affair which he had managed with simplicity. If therefore, as his Friend assured him, the holy Father thought he had given no just occasion of offence, particularly as things had turned out, he might confirm him in this opinion.

“HE concludes with assuring the Cardinal, that though he might seem to have signified a desire of being recalled, yet this was only on a supposition that the Emperor’s displeasure allowed him to be no longer serviceable to his Holiness and the common cause; and did not proceed from shunning labour and a desire of rest. That, he had, indeed, informed the Pope, of what had been said to him, at his return, first, by the Emperor; then, by the Bishop of *Arras*; and, still more openly, by the Nuncio; that, violence of words could go no greater lengths; and had he not taken them in the sense they were meant, he must have been more insensible than an inanimate being: but as to his being recalled or not, he left it entirely to the Pope’s determination, and should look on that as most salutary, which, in his great wisdom, he judged best *.”—This letter was dictated to a Secretary, and is, on that account, much more prolix than if it had been of the LEGATE’S writing. I have only set down the heads, which are there treated very diffusely.

25th May,
1554.

SOME short time before, he had wrote another letter to the same person, much in the same style as this; which I shall here lay before the Reader, because it throws a great light on the constitutional cast of the LEGATE’S mind, no less than on his virtue, and the command he had of himself. It is somewhat long, as those narratives are apt to be in which we enter on a detail of ourselves with persons who have our whole confidence.

“I WILL, my Lord, no longer conceal from you the cause I imagined I had to expostulate with your Lordship, in such a

* Epist. R. Poli, pars 4^a. pag. 138.

strain as is very consistent with friendship; or, to speak more properly, is owing to it. Your Lordship, in the latter part of your letter, informs me, that though the Pope and others, whom it may concern, were satisfied with the sincerity of my dispositions; yet you had some misgivings, lest a satiety of the world, and want of ambition should cause me to withdraw from business, and betake myself to a private life. You remind me, therefore, that though the supreme Being be all-sufficient of himself to conduct human affairs as he pleases, and to make every thing subservient to his glory, yet it is his will that we, in our turn, should second the views of his providence, and not be wanting to the Posts he has assigned us. Had this method of reasoning been employed by one, who was not intimately acquainted with me, I should not have wondered; as I frequently make use of it myself, and am accustomed to refer the whole glory of each good work to the Almighty; and to acknowledge with all gratitude and humility whatever is laudable to proceed from him. My manner of living, which, for the most part, has been to retire often to my studies, and not thrust myself into action, or to shew any desire of those employments which lead to the busy Scenes of life, might easily induce a person who was a stranger to me, to imagine, either that I am very lazy, or that I make more account of myself than of the Public; or that I am of their opinion, who persuade themselves, that God being sufficient to compass every thing by his power and providence, all they have to do, is to wait till he puts them in action. But that your Lordship, to whom, as I said, I ought to be thoroughly known, should entertain any such judgment of me, I cannot sufficiently wonder, especially as the intercourse we have long had with each other has not only let you into the knowledge of that kind of studies, to which some persons will needs have it that I give up too much of my time; but also into my motive for so doing.

“AND now, as an opportunity offers, I will enlarge myself somewhat

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE

somewhat on the end I propose in what I do, and how far my ambition reaches. I have formerly told you, my Lord, what I here repeat, that, whether through pusillanimity, or whatever other cause, I was never desirous to be the Head or chief Magistrate, who bears universal sway, and assigns to each one his post; yet I was ever ready to assist any one who was willing to govern well, and knew how to do so; that is, who referred the sway he bore to his service, from whom all power is derived, and to the advantage of those he governed. These have always been my dispositions; nor do I remember to have ever withdrawn myself from the service of my Prince, or of any private friend, unless when my assistance was not asked; or, if it was, I was not left at large to consult the real honour and advantage of the Parties concerned: and to this, not one part, but the whole course of my life bears evidence.

“ I WILL, in the first place, produce an instance in that Prince, to whom I had more ties than to all others; and was so desirous to comply with them, that I had rather have served him, though with the utmost difficulty and hazard of life itself, than have enjoyed a long and uninterrupted prosperity under any other. I quitted his service on no other account, but because he exacted of me what was contrary to his own true glory, and the interest of my Country; though, by so doing, I left the high road to wealth and preferment. I proceeded on the same principle, when being, afterwards, called to the service of that Prince, to whom the supreme Ruler has commanded an universal deference; and being charged with several laborious and hazardous employments, I never refused to acquit myself of any, and never put my private studies or occupations in competition with the most slender advantage I could procure to the meanest person in the Universe.

“ I READILY grant, indeed, that I am not accustomed to obtrude myself, and go about in quest of business; and this has given some, who are not acquainted with me, occasion to ascribe
my

my solitude to other motives than the true: for when I shall be called forth to action by those, who have a right to command my service; or stand in need of it, I am not afraid to say, there is no labour or danger which I shall not be ready to face.

“BUT, to come to a greater detail with respect to the affair I have now in hand, your Lordship may say, that since I am employed in what has ever been the object of my wishes, why do I seem to decline it? To which I answer, that nothing in this world could afford me greater satisfaction, and that I esteem it a greater emolument than if his Holiness had conferred on me all the lucrative benefices with which he has gratified the Sacred College since he sat in the Pontifical Throne: and my reason for being thus affected is, as I have declared above, that the utmost of my ambition and desire is, to serve such a Patron, and in such a Cause. This satisfaction daily increases, as his Holiness is pleased to press this affair on me from motives truly worthy himself, the honour of the Almighty, and the good of a great People.

“I WOULD not, however, have your Lordship imagine, that, having some experience of these affairs, I am ignorant on what a tempestuous Sea I embark, when I undertake the Embassy to *England*; and that the risks I am to run, and the hardships I must undergo to guide the Vessel into the Haven, are much greater than those I have hitherto encountered with. But these neither terrify, or give me a single wish of the quiet and safe station I have left; and the whole purport of what I wrote to my Agent at *Rome*, was, to give his Holiness to understand, that if, on account of the exigences of the times, any other Minister should be esteemed better qualified to treat with the interested Parties, He would not pay the least regard to my person, but employ one who would give him greater satisfaction, and more advance the common cause. This was the sum of my letters, and of what I signified to his Holiness by my Auditor *Ormanet**.”—This letter,

8th May,
1554.

* Epist. R. Poli, pars 4^a. pag. 133.

as well as the former, being wrote in Italian, they both partake of the exuberance of style of that language, which is very different from the conciseness of our own.

THE Emperor, in the mean time, in order to make his pretexts for delaying the LEGATE's departure more plausible, would see the powers he was invested with, in regard to the affairs of *England*, and send them over to be examined by that Court. This, he knew would take up a considerable time; and the Queen, who had been prevailed on to look on the delays which were hitherto put to the LEGATE's arrival, as a measure which the situation of her affairs required, was now, likewise, instructed to object to the powers conferred on him, as insufficient to bring about the wished-for reconciliation.

THE Pope, immediately on *Edward's* death, on a supposition that *Mary* would desire CARDINAL POLE's presence to rectify the disorders which were introduced in her Father's and Brother's reigns, had, as has been related, appointed him LEGATE to the Queen and the English nation, and had given him instructions and very ample powers, with which it is necessary the Reader should be informed, as they are intimately connected with the following part of this history, and are contained under these heads.

“THE Pope begins by expressing his joy on the happy turn which affairs had taken in *England*, which might give a well-grounded hope of that flourishing Kingdom returning to its former state, and becoming, once more, a part of CHRIST's fold, after having been separated from it in the two last reigns. This, he says, is, by way of excellence, the Work of God's right hand, and to be celebrated by the joy and acclamation of every well-disposed person.—That, he offers up his thanksgiving to the Almighty for having restored a paternal crown to a Princess, as a reward of her steady adherence to Religion, and her constancy under the sharpest Trials: and whereas this Event had been accomplished when human means seemed least to promise it, his confidence

confidence was raised that the mercy would be extended to the whole body of the People.—He congratulates, likewise, the English Catholics, who had continued steadfast to the ancient worship, on their own perseverance, and the satisfaction they must feel on the prospect of seeing their Countrymen return to it.—He observes, that *England* had a peculiar right to his care and attention, having formerly received the Faith by the ministry of Persons sent thither from the See he governed; which made him desirous to comfort those, also, who had departed from those principles, and to restore them to the rectitude from which they were fallen.”

As the exigences of the Nation were various, the Commission was very ample, and such as became his Vicegerent, whose proper character is, *to seek what was lost, to bind up what was broken, and to gather together what had been dispersed in the dark and stormy day*, the LEGATE was empowered to extend this indulgence to almost every weakness and depravity of human nature, of which the misery of those times afforded but too many instances; and which stood in need of a great deal of knowledge in prescribing the remedies, and of a charity and zeal equal to His, in applying them. The same latitude was extended to persons of what degree and profession soever, with respect to censures and penalties incurred by Heresy, and those crimes with which it is usually attended, as sacrilege, perjury, forbidden marriages, simony, and the like.

NOR was this lenity only used as to the conscientious part, but also as to all civil pursuits on account of the said misdemeanors; and the Delinquents, at the LEGATE's pleasure, were to be restored to all the spiritual and temporal advantages they enjoyed before their transgressions. He might, likewise, exempt them from any public abjuration of their errors, and from all other penalties which the Church discipline exacts in such cases: the only condition required, was a sincere return to the true Faith,

an unfeigned sorrow and confession of their sins, accompanied with absolution and the performance of such penitence as a discreet ghostly Father should enjoin. The Ecclesiastical precepts of fasts and abstinence were left to the LEGATE's regulation, who might dispense with them as to persons and places, as he judged expedient.

SEVERAL both of the secular and regular Clergy had entered on a marriage state, which, as has been said above, the example of the Apostles, the ancient usage of the whole Western Church, the Councils and Canons had made unlawful to the former; and, besides the obligation arising from these heads, the most solemn engagements had rendered utterly inconsistent with the profession of the latter. The following expedient, therefore, was prescribed to redress a disorder, which the licentiousness of the last reign had added to those of the preceding. They were commanded to renounce these Contracts, which were no better than a licensed Concubinage; and, on that single condition, were permitted to enjoy, at the LEGATE's discretion, all the Rights they had forfeited by their incontinence.

THIS Condescension was still more extensive in behalf of such of the secular Clergy as stood in need of it. The Pope supposes the case of some of these unfortunate Offenders might be so peculiar, as to make it advisable to allow them to continue as they were; and the LEGATE is authorized to grant them a dispensation to make good their engagements, provided the survivor of the contracting Parties be rendered incapable ever to marry again. But, as it would have been the highest indecency, and given the most just offence, if such persons had enjoyed the revenues of the Church, or were promoted to her dignities; and, much more, were they to perform any Priestly function, and minister at the Altar, they are deprived of the former, and utterly secluded from the latter. The disposition of all Ecclesiastical and pious Foundations, under whatever title, and to whomsoever belonging, was

left

left to the LEGATE, to regulate as he should judge most conducive to the honour of God, and the spiritual welfare of the Kingdom. He was empowered to agree and transact, as he should judge convenient, with the Possessors of Church goods: to discharge them for the profits they had unjustly received, and for the moveable goods they had consumed. Whether restitution of the Immoveable was to be made or not, was also left to his determination; and he was authorized to make the Owners easy as to all such matters. Whatever profit arose from these transactions was to be applied to the Churches, which had suffered; to Hospitals and Schools, and such like purposes.

As so great a multiplicity of business could not be dispatched by one person, the LEGATE was enabled to commit any part of it, some few clauses excepted, to such judicious and pious persons as he should chuse for that purpose; nor was an appeal, of any kind, to take place or hinder the execution of what he had decreed. Lastly, the Pope confirms the jurisdiction he conferred on him; and, moreover, adds, that it is his intention, He should act, on all occasions, with the same plenitude of power which himself held from JESUS CHRIST, and promises to ratify whatever shall be so enacted*.

THE LEGATE was, afterwards, by an extension of these Privileges, commissioned to exert these powers whilst he was out of the Kingdom; to confirm Bishops who had been nominated by the secular authority, and were fallen into heresy, during the Schism of the two last reigns, on renouncing their errors: and to provide, on any vacancy, the Metropolitan and Cathedral Churches of the Realm with such persons as should be recommended to him by the Queen, according to the Customs of the Realm†.

* Printed at London, 1685, and may be seen, at length, in *Wilkins's Conc. Mag. Brit.* vol. 4th. pag. 91.

in the English College of *Dowry*, produced by Mr. *Dod*, Church Hist. vol. 1, pag. 545; et seq. in which Work there are many valuable Documents relating to the Ecclesiastical affairs of this Nation.

† Original Book of Dispatches M. S.

5th Aug.
1553.

THIS salutary and benevolent Commission was set forth in four different Patents, which bear the same date; the last of them is signed by the Nephew of the celebrated *Sadolet*, who had succeeded his Uncle in the Bishoprick of *Carpentras**.—In the three others, which are in form of Credentials, the Pope informs the LEGATE, “that having deliberated with the Cardinals on the arduous and delicate negotiation of recalling his Country to the Faith of its Forefathers, it had been unanimously agreed to appoint him Legate to the Queen and Kingdom; and that the preference given to him, on this occasion, was owing to the natural love he must be supposed to bear his own Country, to his knowledge of the language, manners, and temper of the People; to his Royal extraction, his authority and influence; to his singular skill in the management of business; to his eloquence, and, above all other considerations, to his love of our God, and Lord JESUS CHRIST, and of his holy Catholic Church.—That, as the LEGATE had already given proof of these, and all other Virtues, wherewith the bountiful hand of Providence had adorned his person, his Holiness had appointed him to employ them all in bringing back to the paths of righteousness those who had strayed from them, in a manner worthy his piety towards God, his respect to the holy See, his affection for the common cause of Christianity, and his great parts and integrity: and, that this wished-for success was, first, to be expected from a propitious God; and, in

* Bishop *Burnet* has, likewise, given, at length, the Bull, in which the above-mentioned Articles are contained; Hist. of the Reform. part 3d, pag. 215 of the collection of Records.—He has, likewise, exhibited, with candour, the Papal Decrees by which the LEGATE's powers are extended; and the Church possessions secured, in the most ample and unexceptionable form, to those who then enjoyed them, *ibid.* p. 221, 222. And

he has published, with the same good faith, *Ormanet's* and *Granvelle's* letters, and one of CARDINAL POLE to the Pope, and some others, *ibid.* pag. 226, *et seq.* which, though very necessary for that part of the CARDINAL's history, are omitted in *Quirini's* Collection; and He has informed his Readers by what means they came into his hands. Hist. of the Reform. part 3, b. 5, p. 230.

the

the next place, from the labours, the prudence, and virtues of the LEGATE, and the piety and wisdom of the Queen.—It may be truly asserted, if ever Patents were a faithful representation of the Bearer, these were of CARDINAL POLE; and not more the Credentials of an Ambassador, than the Certificate of a private Character*.

THESE powers, ample as they were, for the reasons I have mentioned, were objected to by the Emperor; and Ormanet, the LEGATE'S Auditor, was sent to Rome, in order to have them enlarged, whilst the LEGATE, in the mean time, took up his residence at *Delingen-Abbey*, near *Brussels*. Here he had the news of *Philip's* arrival in *England*, and his marriage with the Queen. The Prince came to *Southampton* on the 20th of *July*, and was met by her Majesty at *Winchester*, where the nuptials were celebrated, in the Cathedral, with great pomp, and the Ceremony performed by *Gardiner*, Bishop of the Diocese, on the 27th. *Philip* was in the twenty-seventh year of his age, and the Queen in the thirty-eighth.

THE qualities of this Prince formed a Character, to which it was impossible the temper of the English should ever be reconciled: and, that this may not appear a random assertion, I shall draw the out-lines, from which the whole Portrait may be collected. The Reader, at the same time, may not be displeased to reflect on the strange and unaccountable steps by which this Prince has attained to the reputation of wisdom, and great skill in that Science, which becomes a Throne. Besides other arguments of this superiority, two volumes have been published of his Aphorisms; and there is scarce any epithet to denote uncommon sagacity, which has not been affixed to his name: even, appearances have not been wanting to make him pass for a good man, no less than a great Prince.

* Ex *R. Pole*, fol. 4, b; transcribed by *Wilkins*, *Conc. Mag. Brit.* vol. 4, pag. 87.

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE

PHILIP had a distant and reserved carriage, which was the effect of constitution and pride, and rendered him very unfit to govern a brave and generous People. Tho' the marriage treaty between him and the Queen had been carrying on almost a year, and was concluded some months before he came to *England*, he never once wrote to her. He knew nothing of our language, and gave himself little trouble to be acquainted with our manners. When amongst us, he retained the Spanish dress, which gave his person, which though low, was stiff and stately, a still more foreign air, and made him appear to greater disadvantage. This occasioned the Mob sometimes to follow him in the streets, and give their opinion of him with a freedom which is peculiar to themselves. The Flemings had observed and blamed this inbred arrogance, when he was only Prince of *Spain*; and nothing contributed more to alienate the affections of a People, whose dispositions bear a great resemblance to our own. His wretched policy lost *Holland*, and drove the other Provinces of the *Netherlands* into the worst extremities; and a jealous and suspicious temper caused him to discard those whom his Father had employed; and

Don John
of Austria.
Margaret
of Parma.

remove the mild and wise Governors, who had the love and confidence of the People, and appoint others in their stead, whose harsh and cruel proceedings might be more suited to his own. His Son had been tried and put to death in the dark recesses of a prison; and it is a problem, if his natural Brother, the most gallant and amiable Prince of the age, did not die by poison administered by his orders: to say nothing of the equivocal manner in which his third Wife, *Elizabeth* of *France*, left the world; and his delay in the very first remittance of a small pension, which his Father, *Charles V.* had reserved out of the vast dominions he resigned to him. A black melancholy, to which he was subject, was encreased by a ravenous appetite, and gross meats. Though the conquest of *New Spain* had caused a tide of wealth to flow into the old; from a want of knowledge to put it to useful purposes,

Don John.

poses, it only furnished him with means to trouble his Neighbours, and grasp at foreign conquests, when he had already so much more than he knew how to govern. With all the farce of profound penetration, and what the Fools of the World call deep Policy, he ever wanted the plain and simple, and, therefore, the true Principles of Government. He introduced into the Spanish Councils that trifling ceremonial, and those forms in which every department is so intrenched as to be inaccessible to dispatch; and these gloomy and pedantic arts, by which shew and appearances are kept up, whilst real strength is destroyed, have, ever since, continued to damp the spirit of a Nation naturally brave, and to thin it of Inhabitants. The same management became hereditary, and his Successor, by one senseless and inhuman Edict drove out of *Spain* a Million of People: and, to come to proofs which our own times afford, whilst the formalities of the last War were adjusting at *Madrid*, our Countrymen failed, fought, and overcame.

Philip III.

THE LEGATE had no sooner heard the news of the Queen's marriage, but he congratulated the new King by a long Letter, which was no less a piece of seasonable advice, than a compliment on his nuptials, and the acquisition of a new Kingdom to his hereditary dominions. He observes the personal interest he had in this great event, as he was sent Legate to her Majesty and the Realm; and likewise to *Philip's* Father, and to the King of *France*: that this consideration makes his wishes the more ardent, that this alliance may be a means of restoring to his Country the blessings of tranquillity to which it had been so long a stranger; and bringing about a general peace to the emolument of all *Europe**. The LEGATE wrote, likewise, a letter of felicitation to the Emperor, on his Son's marriage, which he inclosed in one to the Bishop of *Arras*, and desired him to forward it to his Majesty, who was

11th July,
1554.

* R. Poli Epist. pars 4^a, p. 158.

then

29th July,
1554.

then at *Valenciennes*. He lets the Bishop know that his Auditor was not returned from *Rome*, but that he expected him soon.— He sent the same intelligence, on the same day, to the Cardinal *de Monte*; and, before he had finished the letter, *Ormanet* arrived with the enlargement of the Legantine Powers; “ which, he says, was such as he could have desired from the Pope’s goodness, in an affair of the highest concernment: that, therefore, he entreated the Cardinal to make his most dutiful acknowledgments to his Holiness; and should, on the first opportunity, send him all the information he could desire: that *Ormanet*’s arrival could never have been more seasonable; and he had great hopes in an all-good and powerful Providence, that every thing would end to the Pope’s satisfaction.”

à latere.

THE Pope, in this enlargement of the LEGATE’S commission, enumerates the powers he had already conferred on him, in his Embassy to *England*, and appointing him Legate by commission, to the Emperor and the French King. Tho’ the commission, he says, was very extensive, and he had authority to exert it in every thing, which concerned the persons and affairs of his Country, whilst he resided in *Flanders*, yet the fallen state of the Nation occasioned infinite and unthought of cases to occur, which required the assistance of the Holy See, to which no detail was sufficient; and a further doubt had been raised, whether this authority could be exercised in the Islands and other dominions subject to her Majesty. To remove, therefore, all ambiguity, the Pope conferred on him full power to execute whatever he judged necessary to bring about the salutary end of the Embassy to *England*, though it was not comprehended in his former patents: and as to the Embassy to the two Courts abovementioned, he had the full powers of Legate by commission, in as ample form as they had been conferred on the two Cardinals, who were

26th June,
1554.

lately employed at the said Courts.

As what concerned the Church Revenues was a matter of the greatest

greatest difficulty to be adjusted to the Rules of Justice and Religion, and seemed the main obstacle to the Nations return to the ancient worship; the Pope had ordered a separate Decree relative to this affair, as follows.—“ He mentions to the LEGATE, that he had already authorized him to treat with the Possessors of Ecclesiastical Revenues, as to the fruits they had unjustly received, and consumed, and to discharge them from any obligation of restitution arising from these heads. But as there was, every day, a greater prospect of the blessing he so much wished the Nation, taking place, and nothing seemed more likely to remove the hindrance which yet obstructed it, than the indulgence of the holy See towards those who, in the confusion of the late times, had taken possession of Church lands; He, on his part, should be very unwilling that a ransom so dearly purchased as the salvation of the interested parties, should be frustrated by any temporal considerations. He committed, therefore, the whole affair to the LEGATE, and invested him with the most ample power to agree and compound with the present Owners; and to assure to them their possessions, on whatever title they held them; to exempt them from any duty of restitution; and to do every thing which was necessary to remove all scruples and make them easy. This only clause was added, that if any affair occurred so momentous as to make the decision of the holy See, seem necessary, she was to be consulted, and her judgment waited for: but, even, whether this was to be done or not, was left to the LEGATE, and his sentence was to determine all things*.”

28th July,
1554.

CARDINAL *de Monte* accompanied these Decrees with a letter of great civilities, which *Ormanet*, the Auditor, was to deliver to his Lord; with another from Cardinal *Moron*, in answer to those of the LEGATE, of which large extracts have been already given; *Moron* lets him know, “ that having informed the Pope of what

* Printed at London, 1554; and cited by *Wilkins*, *Conc. Mag. Bri.* vol. 4, p. 102.

he had wrote, he had testified the highest approbation of the LEGATE's conduct, and cleared him of giving cause to the Emperor or any one else, of the extravagant behaviour he complained of.—As to recalling him; he persisted, that it could not be done without great indignity to himself, dishonour to the holy See, reproach to the Emperor, injury to the LEGATE, and prejudice to the affairs of *England*.—That his Holiness had often declared himself variously on the subject of Church lands, before he came to a final resolution; but that, at length, the Bearer, *Ormanet*, was dispatched with every concession conformable to the exigences of affairs, and the LEGATE's desires.”

13th July,
1554.

THE LEGATE had no sooner received these Dispatches, but he sent the Bearer to inform the Emperor, who was still at *Valenciennes*, of their contents, and to urge his Majesty's consent to his setting out for *England*. *Ormanet*, immediately on his arrival, had audience of the Bishop of *Arras*, of which he gives *Priuli* the following account: “That the Minister's answer to the commission with which the LEGATE had charged him was, that no one could doubt of the Emperor having the affairs of Religion at heart, as he had always promoted its interest, and often exposed his life in its cause—that as to the seasonableness of exerting his zeal in the present juncture, on which I had chiefly insisted, his Majesty was of opinion it was proper to wait the turn which affairs took in *England*, from whence they had no news since the Prince's landing, but of the marriage.—That it would be necessary to come to an explicit declaration on two heads; whether the disposition of the Church revenues was left to the LEGATE or to their Majesties, and the method which his Lordship proposed to observe in this disposition. The Bishop added, that he desired to see a Copy of the Patents. My answer, says *Ormanet*, was, that as to the particulars of the commission, he thought he had said enough in declaring to his Lordship, that the LEGATE was entrusted with the whole; but as to the manner of proceeding in

in it, he could come to no resolution till he was on the spot, as there were many things of which, as yet, it was impossible to frame a right notion.—I insisted on the importance of the business, which required all the dispatch the nature of things admitted; and that no opportunity could be fairer than the present, as the good humour, which the late Coronation had occasioned, would reconcile the minds of the People to what the LEGATE was to execute, and his Majesty's Son have the honour of being, in great measure, the Instrument of such a National blessing.—On this head, the Auditor says, he enlarged himself, as he should inform the LEGATE, on his return.—The conclusion was, that *Granvelle* would inform his Imperial Majesty of all that had passed between them; and that his own good offices should not be wanting, which he owed both to the cause, and to his deference and esteem for the LEGATE: that, as they were to change quarters very suddenly, he could not then let me have his Majesty's resolution, but would send it to me at *Valenciennes*, and I need give myself no further trouble. I shall allow him a whole day to acquit himself of his promise; and on the following, if he fails to do it, shall return to solicit my dismissal. I was willing, says he, to send this detail, that I might cause no uneasiness by staying beyond the time appointed.—He informs *Priuli*, that the Emperor was in so good a state of health and spirits, as to review his troops, every day, on horseback."

31st July,
1554.

THREE days after, the Bishop of *Arras* dismissed *Ormanet* with the following letter to the LEGATE. "I have received two letters from your Lordship, by the first of which you assure me of your satisfaction on the Prince's arrival in *England*, and his marriage. The other, which was directed to his Imperial Majesty, I delivered myself; and he signified how much he was pleased at this pledge of your Lordship's regard and affection. Your Auditor, who is to be the Bearer of this, is since arrived here, and has made a report to me of whatever you was pleased to com-

municate concerning your Patents; of all which I have informed his Majesty. His answer is, as your Lordship may understand more at large from the Bearer, that he does not think it proper you should set out for *England*, till he has consulted their Britannic Majesties on this head; and that, on the return of a Courier who was dispatched to-day, he shall be able to take a final resolution.—That the Emperor, the King and Queen had but one common interest in view; and it could not be doubted but they would promote it not only with a zeal which became them, but also with such temper, as to be of service to the cause, and not ruin it for ever,”

Bouchain,
3d Aug.
1554.

THE LEGATE, in his answer, lets *Granvelle* know how sensible he was of his Imperial Majesty's goodness, who, in the midst of the din of war, gave so serious an attention to the affairs of *Britain*—That, as to setting out on his journey thither, he should wait his pleasure; and had never entertained a thought of taking any step in the whole affair, but with his approbation—In the mean time, he should beg of the divine Goodness to give to the whole body of the People a sense of this favourable incident, lest the reproach of the Prophet, *the Kite has known its season, but my People hath not known the time of their visitation*, should be verified in them—that the piety of their Sovereigns gave him great hopes they would act in a manner worthy the expectation they had raised, especially as they could not fail to be prompted and assisted by the authority and prudence of his Imperial Majesty—He ends by telling the Bishop, that having been informed from his Auditor, that it would be a satisfaction to him to see a Copy of his commission to dispose of the Church lands, he had sent it, and desired to be informed when it was come to hand—That he was much obliged to him for the offers of his friendship, and the civilities he had shewed his Auditor.” Some time after, this Minister informed the LEGATE, “he had seen his Patents, and joins in wishes for the success of an affair, which,

Delingen,
5th Aug.
1554.

as

as it regarded a common good, every one must have at heart." 11th Aug.
This detail may, perhaps, appear too minute; but the importance of the affair, in which the negotiation ended, caused me to be as circumstantial concerning every thing which related to it (if I may be allowed the comparison) as the Poet in producing the Bow, by which his Hero was to be discovered, and the fate of the Suitors decided.

Odyf. b.
21.

DURING this intercourse, *Philip*, who was now King of *England*, had sent over a person of the first quality of the low Countries, to the Emperor his Father. This Nobleman was likewise charged with a letter of great respect, on the part of the King, to the LEGATE, to whom he was to notify his Majesty's marriage; and the Letter was to be the Bearer's Credentials. The LEGATE acknowledged his sense of this mark of Royal favour, by making an offer of the allegiance he now owed *Philip*, as his Sovereign; and by the like expressions of respect, which are bestowed on Princes, on such occasions. The letter is in Latin, and dated from *Delingen Abbey*, near *Brussels*, where his residence was.—*Soto*, *Philip's* Confessor, wrote, likewise, to him, in a manner agreeable to the Post he was in, and to his own personal character; and the LEGATE, in his reply, tells him; he had sufficiently indicated his own way of thinking, in personating that of his Prince; and takes notice, that unless *Philip* really gave the preference to what concerned the worship of the Supreme Being, he would pervert the order of things; for unless this great affair held the first place, no other could be assigned to it*. 7th Aug.

The Count
of *Horne*.

Soon after the time I am speaking of, the Emperor came to *Brussels*, and had frequent conferences with the LEGATE and the Bishop of *Arras*, on the situation of affairs in *England*, of which

10th Oct.

* Et fanè ita eum prorsus facere oportet, qui collapsam Religionem erigere atque instaurare cogitet; cui si primum locum non dederis, nullum dederis; sed quam instaurare profitearis, dum ordinem pervertis, labefactes magis ac dirues. *R. Poli Epist. pars 4^a, pag. 166.*

he

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE

he gives the Pope the following particulars.—That the Emperor and his Minister had often resumed the argument which had been discussed in the Letters that had passed between the latter himself and *Ormanet*; which the Reader has already seen, and of which the LEGATE gives his Holiness the chief heads. These, he says, though represented with great candour, on his part, appeared not sufficiently cleared up to his Majesty and *Granvelle*; and in order to protract the affair, they insisted on further éclaircissements. I replied, says the LEGATE, that in an affair of this nature, the negotiation was not to be carried on as in the late treaty of Peace, where neither party discovered their real intentions, but endeavoured to avail themselves of the discovery they could make of those of their Adversary; whereas in this treaty there was but one common cause, in which your Holiness, the Emperor, and their Britannic Majesties were equally interested: and, if I was allowed to have access to my Country, I should satisfy the latter as to the extent of the commission I had from your Holiness to remove all obstacles to a reconciliation; but if any difficulty remained, their Majesties were free to propose it.—That, the Impediments, in general, were of two kinds; the first regarded the *Doctrine*, in which no abatement could be made, since the only Remedy to Evils introduced by Error, was the acknowledgment of the contrary Truths. The other related to Church Revenues, the Possessors of which, from an apprehension of the severity of her laws, were afraid to return to her obedience; and to this, I said, your Holiness was willing to extend indulgence as far as the case required.—The LEGATE then gives a summary relation of these concessions, with which, says he, the Emperor was highly satisfied; but added, that this Article should be well considered, as he knew from the experience he had in *Germany*, that this would be the capital objection of many: for, as to tenets, they gave themselves little trouble about them, being equally indifferent to all. The Emperor made other objections, which

which, the LEGATE says, seemed only started to put off his journey; to which he answered; that the Parliament being shortly to be summoned, it was of the utmost importance it should not break up without completing the great Work now in hand.—That otherwise it would give general Offence, and be a notable detriment to the Cause.—That the Queen having entered on the marriage state with a view to facilitate this undertaking, and Providence having allotted her a Husband, who might second her good intentions, if an affair, which ought to be the Principle, on which their royal conduct should turn, was put off any longer, they would be inexcusable both before God and Man. The Emperor replied, that great allowances were to be made to the unfavourable dispositions of those whom this affair concerned, to their aversion to the very name of obedience to the Church, to a scarlet hat, and a Religious habit: that his Son had been advised to cause the Religious men he brought with him from Spain, to change their dress; though he had not done it, nor did it become him to do so. To this he added the dangerous consequences of popular tumults, and the bad offices which their foreign Enemies, meaning the French, would not fail to do them.—I replied, says the LEGATE, that if their Majesties were to wait till every imaginary difficulty was removed, there would never be an end of delays, since the interested parties desired nothing more than that things should go on in the present track, and they allowed to possess and enjoy what they held.—The Conclusion, says he, was, to expect the return of a Secretary, who was to come, in a few days, from England; and the LEGATE confer, in the mean time, with the Bishop of Arras on what had been the subject of this letter*.

11th Nov.

13th Oct.
1554.

WHILST this negotiation was going forward, envy, which, as the shadow follows the substance, attends eminent merit, en-

* *Barnet*, part 3, b. 5. Col. of Records, pag. 230.

deavoured,

deavoured, by every low and ungenerous method to hinder the effects of the LEGATE'S zeal, and keep him at a distance. All the ill services, which malice and jealousy could suggest, were employed at the Courts of *Rome*, *Brussels*, and *England*, to set him aside, and represent him as unfit for the commission he was charged with. Nor was he either ignorant or unattentive to what passed, but said to his friends, he was much in the same case with a person, who, by the waving of the grass, perceives that a snake is lurking under it, though he cannot exactly determine the spot*. But a confidence in Almighty God, and a resolution not to be wanting to himself, and to make use of such measures as prudence suggests, and Providence furnishes, supported him in these streights: at the same time, he wrote to *Philip* the obligation He lay under of no longer refusing him the entrance of his Kingdom, and putting an obstacle to the commission he came to execute. "It is now, Sir, says he, a year since I presented myself at your palace gates, without having obtained admittance. If your Majesty asks, as it is usual of those who present themselves in this manner, who it is? I shall content myself with making this answer; that it is he, who, that he might prevent the same Palace from being shut to Her, with whom you now enjoy it in common, has suffered himself to be deprived of his home and Country, and underwent a banishment of twenty years. Was I to allege no other reason for being recalled and admitted to your presence, this alone must appear sufficient: but I overlook whatever I may claim in my own name, whatever I have a right to as a private person, and only desire that a due regard may be had to my public character†." He adds many reasons, which the goodness of his heart, and his zeal for the public good suggested, for not putting off to a more distant time a Work, which he thought should have been already entered on; and if it

21st Sept.

1554.

* Vita Poli, fol. 25, a tergo. † Epist. R. Poli, pars 4^a. pag. 162.

were

were neglected would involve the King and Queen in much guilt and the consequences of it. This letter is long, and consists chiefly of Allegory, and moral Allusions to some historical passages of Scripture, which gave a handle to a Writer, who, on the whole, is very fair to CARDINAL POLE's character, to say it was more like the flourish of a Rhetorician, than the solemn expostulation of a great man on such an occasion. At the same time he acknowledges, that this manner of writing had been practised early, and long used by eminent men, and that such precedents might have warranted him to copy it.—He might have carried up the List very high, and cited One whom *Longinus* quotes as a Pattern of eloquence.

Burnet,
Hist. of
the Refor.
part 3, p.
236.

St. Paul.

PHILIP, on the receipt of this letter, sent *Renardi*, who was the Emperor's Ambassador at the English Court, to *Brussels*, to inform the LEGATE of what had been already done in the affair of Religion, what omitted, and for what reasons, and of every particular which had any connection with it; to lay before him the present situation of things, and advise with him of the means which seemed most expedient to bring them to a happy conclusion.—The LEGATE, in his answer, of which the same Ambassador was to be the Bearer, says, he had informed his Majesty of every Article, on which he desired his opinion, and, therefore, should not trouble him any further, but referred him to his Excellence for all particulars*.

27th Oct.

ALMOST at the same time, the Queen's Ambassador at the Court of *Brussels* wrote to her the following letter.—“That CARDINAL POLE was come into those parts on two errands: one, to negotiate a peace between the Emperor and the French King; the other, to bring about a reconciliation of his Country with the Catholic Church; but, perceiving neither of them to take effect, he began to lose all comfort.—That, as to the first,

Mason.

Epist. R. Pole, part 4, pag. 168.

Part II.

L

he

he quite gave it up; and if he did not speedily perceive some likelihood of succeeding in the other, he should be weary of spending his time to no purpose, and talked of returning to *Italy*. —That, should this happen, he, indeed, would have the displeasure of being deprived of his Country; but the Realm, in its turn, would lose a person, who, for his wisdom, learning, and eminent virtue, was sought and honoured by every one who had the happiness of his acquaintance. —That his conversation was much above that of ordinary men, and adorned with such qualities, that he wished the man, who liked him the least in the Kingdom, was to converse with him but one half hour; that it must be a stoney heart which he did not soften. And, to conclude, should he leave those parts without an opportunity of letting her Majesty's Subjects make any essay of his good qualities, he, the Ambassador, must think the story of the Gospel, in some sense, verified in the LEGATE's person, where the Inhabitants of *Geraza*, on a fond and groundless fear, are related to have desired our Redeemer, who offered his presence to them, to depart from their Country*."

Brussels,
5th Oct.

So many cogent motives founded on Religion and Reason, at length took place of what is called Politics; and the CARDINAL's return was resolved: and that it might be attended with every circumstance which could do honour to this illustrious Exile; and, in the first place, that his repeal might be an act of justice, not of grace, the cause of the attainder was rejudged, and the disgrace dignified. The Parliament, as has been said, was summoned on the 17th of *November*, and the first Bill brought before the Lords was the reversion of the Attainder, which went through the House in two days. It was then sent down to the Commons, who read it thrice in one day, and sent it up. The Bill being to pass before the CARDINAL could come to *England*, a motion was made in the Lower House, whether this could be done without making a Session, which must cause a prorogation?

17th Nov.
19th.

prorogation? and it being resolved in the affirmative, the King and Queen came to the House and passed it. The Bill set forth, ^{22d Nov.} that the only reason of the Attainder, was the CARDINAL's refusal to consent to the unlawful divorce of the Queen's Father and Mother; and that their Majesties, and both Houses of Parliament, in consideration of his conscientious behaviour in this affair, and his many excellent qualities, repealed the Attainder, and restored him to all the Rights which his uprightness alone had caused him to forfeit. The impression of the Great Seal, which was put to this Act was, for greater distinction, taken off in gold.

EVERY thing being now agreed on for the LEGATE's reception in *England*, the Lords *Paget* and *Hastings*, and a train of forty Gentlemen, were appointed to go to *Brussels*, to invite him to his native Country. They were both of the Privy Council, and the latter, Master of the Horse, and married to *Catharine*, Daughter of Lord *Montague*, the CARDINAL's eldest Brother, who was put to death by *Henry VIII.* On their arrival, they acquainted the Queen of the satisfaction the Emperor had signified at the information they had given him of the state of the Nation, and of what concerned Himself, *at which he roused himself with a merry chere*, and discoursed to them at large on the manifold advantages which were likely to attend this turn of affairs.—After this account of the audience of the Emperor, they inform the Queen of their waiting on the CARDINAL, of the joy with which he received them, and the gratitude and respect he expressed for the Queen. “His virtues, say they, cannot be sufficiently admired; and, in particular, his moderation, and the command he has of himself, which make him ready not only to lay aside the character of LEGATE, and come to *England* as a private Cardinal and Ambassador to her Majesty, but agree to any other measures, which may be for the public emolument; and, as to what concerned the Abbey lands, all things should be adjusted so as to give general contentment.”—They conclude, by

informing her Majesty, that the CARDINAL's weak state of health did not permit him to take long journies; and, moreover, that regard was to be had to the dignity of his person; that, on the morrow, they should lie at *Dendermond*; *Thursday*, at *Ghent*; *Friday*, at *Bruges*; *Saturday*, at *Nieuport*; *Sunday*, at *Dunkirk*; *Monday*, at *Calais*; that no respect and attendance should be wanting on their part, as it was their duty to behave in this manner, and because the CARDINAL's merit made it their inclination*.

Brussels,
13th Nov.
1554.

SEVERAL Foreigners, who were distinguished for their abilities in public affairs or literature, attended the LEGATE to his Country; among whom, besides his chief intimate *Prinzi*, were his Secretary *Floribellus*, who has been so justly celebrated for the ease and elegance of his Latin style; *Stella*, and *Rallus*; and though the former was much advanced in years, and the other's health very infirm, and the LEGATE had used every endeavour to prevail on them not to hazard so long and difficult a journey, especially in the winter; the respect and affection they bore him, on account of a long acquaintance, and several friendly offices which had passed between them, made them both overlook whatever inconveniences they might apprehend, either from their years or infirmities. And though *Stella* died on the road, his Brother's son, a youth of exquisite judgment and learning, succeeded to the place his Uncle held in his Patron's esteem, and was very serviceable to him. It may be observed as a singular felicity which attended this great man, that of all those, who followed him out of *Italy*, and were in any degree of his esteem, *Stella* was the only one he left in the future part of his life†.

THE LEGATE had taken leave of the Emperor the night before the date of the letter, I have last mentioned; and set out the following day, accompanied by a hundred and twenty horse. From *Ghent* he wrote to the King, "to testify his sense of the

* Paper Office; copied by Bishop Burnet, Hist. of the Ref. part 3, b. 5; Col. of Rec. p. 237.

† Vita Poli, fol. 23.

honour their Majesties had done him, in writing to him in the most obliging manner, by two of their Privy Council, Lord *Paget*, Knight of the Garter, and Lord *Hastings*, Master of the Horse; who were moreover charged with verbal messages of the same gracious import, and appointed to conduct him in his journey to *England*: for which instances of goodness, he hoped, in a few days, to signify to them, in person, all the gratitude he then felt *."

Ghent,
16th Nov.
1554.

BEING arrived at *Calais*, he was received, agreeably to the orders the Queen had given, with great magnificence, and found a Royal Yacht and six men of war in readiness to wait on him to his Country. Here an incident happened, which was remarked by every one there present, and interpreted as a declaration of Heaven in his favour; and which, in whatever light it may now be looked on by the Reader, I must not omit. The wind, which for several days, had been so contrary as to make the passage to *England* impracticable, and seemed as if it would continue so; on the very night of the LEGATE's arrival, became, on a sudden, fair, and, in a few hours, conveyed Him and his retinue to *Dover*†.

20th Nov.

* *Epist. R. Poli*, pars 4^a. pag. 173. † *Vita Poli*, fol. 26.

S E C T.

(78)

S E C T. II.

The CARDINAL reconciles the English Nation to the Church of Rome: Assures the Abbey Lands to the Lay Owners. Abstract of an accurate Statute made by the Parliament on that occasion.

On the vacancy of the See of Rome, He is designed for the Papacy, by the Queen of England and the French Court: And is chosen Mediator between the Emperor and the French King, at the Congress of Calais.

He calls a National Council, and publishes Constitutions for the Reformation of the English Church.

CARDINAL POLE was received at landing by the Lord Montague, his Nephew by his eldest Brother, whom Henry VIII. had put to death; by the Bishop of Ely, and several of the Nobility, among whom were some of his acquaintance and relations. In this company he set out for London, and was met on the road by a great concourse of people, and had the same honours every where paid him as at his landing, where he had been treated as a person of the Royal family, and one who came to restore the Nation to a blessing, of which it had been so many Years deprived. Being come to Gravesend, the Bishop of Durham and the Earl of Shrewsbury, who was one of the most considerable Noblemen of the Kingdom, complimented him on behalf of their Majesties, and presented him with the Act, by which, on the foregoing day, he was restored to blood, the Attainder reversed, by which he had been banished and declared a rebel

22d Nov.
1554.

rebel and an enemy to his Country, and he re-instated in all his honours and rights. That this proceeding might be attended with greater solemnity, and be more honourable to the person it concerned, the King and Queen, as has been said, would though contrary to custom, be present when the Act passed, and the impression of the great seal was taken off in gold. At *Gravesend* a Royal barge was in readiness to carry him to *London* by water; and it being notified to him on the part of their Majesties, that it was their pleasure he should now appear in the public character of LEGATE, the barge carried at her head the silver Cross, which was raised in so conspicuous a manner as to be beheld by an infinite multitude of Spectators, who covered both sides of the *Thames*, while a great number of smaller barges accompanied him up the river till he arrived at *Whitehall*, where the Court then was.

THE Letters Patent by which the CARDINAL is authorized to exercise his Legantine jurisdiction, and which were presented to him by the Bishop of *Durham*, are to the following purpose:

“ Their Majesties declare, that whereas it has pleased the Pontiff *Julius III.* to send their dear Cousin REGINALD POLE with certain authorities, graces and jurisdictions to be exercised in behalf of the Subjects of *England*; the said LEGATE had accepted the commission on the best of purposes; and the exercise of it was highly beneficial to the Realm: that, on this account his arrival in that character was most acceptable to them, and it was their pleasure he should exercise the said jurisdiction in its full extent; and they were well pleased their loving Subjects should have recourse to him according to the nature and quality of the grace they stood in need of, and as they might have done in the twentieth year of the late King *Henry*.” *

10th Nov.
1554.

THE King and Queen, who did not expect him so early, were

* *Ex Reg. Poli*, fol. 66. and, *Conc. Mag. Eri.* Vol. 4. pag. 109.

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE

at table when he came to land; but, as soon as his arrival was known, the Chancellor and several of the Lords went down to the water-side to receive him: the King likewise came out to meet him before he reached the Palace, and embraced him with great marks of affection. The Queen, with the Ladies of the Court, received him at the head of the great stair-case, and publicly declared her joy on that occasion to be equal to what she had felt on ascending the throne of her Ancestors. Having staid some time in conference with their Majesties, and presented them his Credentials, he was conducted to *Lambeth* by the Chancellor, the prime of the Nobility, and the multitude which had met him on the road. The Queen had given orders that the Palace, which was now vacated by Archbishop *Cranmer* lying under sentence of death, for treason, should be richly furnished, and had appointed the LEGATE a Household and an Income suited to such an Expence. The third day after, he went to Court, and the King, who came out of the Anti-chamber to meet him, delivered into his hands a packet of letters he had just then received. It was a dispatch from *Rome*, and brought the LEGATE the most ample powers in order to accomplish the great work of the Nation's reconciliation with the Catholic Church; and the incident of its arriving at that critical juncture was interpreted as a declaration of Heaven in favour of a Cause which then engaged the attention of all *Europe*. The next day the King paid the LEGATE a visit, and regulated every thing with him concerning this great Work, which was opened in the following manner.

On the morrow, the 28th of *November*, the LEGATE, as had been agreed on, came to the House of Peers before the King and Queen; and the Chancellor informed the Lords and Commons, who were summoned to attend, that the CARDINAL was come a LEGATE from the Holy See to their Majesties and to the whole Realm; and having already declared to the former the purpose of his Embassy, he was about to make the same declaration to Them as Representatives of the whole Nation.

THE

THE LEGATE then rose up and spoke to this purpose: Before he entered on the matter, he said; "He had, for many years, been excluded not only from that Assembly, but also from his Country, by laws enacted personally against himself: that he returned their Majesties and the Parliament his best acknowledgments for repealing those laws, and should ever be grateful for the good will they had shewn him on this occasion; that this favour of theirs was the more welcome, as it now furnished him with an opportunity of repaying it in a matter of still greater importance to his Benefactors; that he had been restored by them to the place of his birth, and to a nobility which could boast no higher origin than the earth; but he was come to inscribe them Denizens of a heavenly Country, and reinstate them in that true and Christian greatness which they had forfeited by renouncing a fealty, to which it had pleased Almighty God it should be annexed. He then enumerated the evils they had been liable to since this defection; he insisted on the greatness of the benefit which was offered them, and on the peculiar attention the See of Rome had always shewed the *English* nation. He reminded them of their past errors, exhorted them to sincere repentance, and to receive with a sensible and holy joy the reconciliation which he, as LEGATE to God's Vicegerent, was about to impart to them; and to that effect was invested with full power to receive them into the Church, as they, by repealing the Acts passed against himself, had opened his Country to him. That to reap so great a blessing, it only remained that they should repeal whatever they had enacted against the Holy See, and those laws by which they had cut themselves off from the body of the Faithful."

THE discourse, which was long, was heard very favourably, and with great silence and attention; several, who were present, lifting up their eyes and hands, and signifying how deeply they were affected with it. When the LEGATE had ended, the

Part II.

M

Chancellor

Chancellor thanked him in the name of their Majesties and the Parliament for the good offices he had done the Nation; and said, the Houses would deliberate on what he had proposed: and the LEGATE being withdrawn into an adjoining chamber, the Chancellor began a second speech from these words of *Moses, The Lord shall raise up a Prophet to thee from amongst thine own Brethren*; and having repeated and confirmed the chief points on which the LEGATE had spoke, he acknowledged himself of the number of the Delinquents; he set before them the greatness of the offered blessing; he exhorted them to rise from their fallen state, and dispose themselves to a reconciliation with the common Parent of All who are entitled to the Promises of the Gospel: and thus the business of the day concluded.

On the morrow the Parliament met again, and a return to the communion of the Catholic Church being proposed, it was agreed to with a general approbation. The following day, which was the festival of *St. Andrew*, the Apostle, both Houses being assembled, the King sent the High Chamberlain, the Earl of *Arundel*, attended by six Knights of the Garter and the same number of Prelates, to accompany the LEGATE to the House of Lords. He came attired in his robes, and with all the types of his Legantine Jurisdiction, and was received by their Majesties with every Demonstration of respect; and the King being at the Queen's left hand, and the LEGATE at her right, though at a somewhat greater distance than the King, they were all three placed on seats raised on rich tapestry and under a very costly canopy. The Commons being ordered to attend, the Chancellor briefly recapitulated what had been said and agreed on the day before, and asked them if they then ratified it, and desired to return to the unity of the Church and the obedience which was due to her chief Pastor? This proposal being assented to by the acclamation of the whole Assembly, he presented

presented to their Majesties a Petition on behalf of the Members of both Houses, as Representatives of the whole Nation, setting forth their sorrow for the former schism, and for whatever they had enacted against the See of Rome, and the Catholic Religion; all which they now annulled, and beseeched them, whom God had preserved from any share in the guilt, to obtain of the Lord LEGATE to pardon and restore them again, as true and living Members, to that Body, from which they had separated themselves by their misdeeds.

THE King and Queen having read the Petition, returned it to the Chancellor, who read it audibly, so as to be heard by All. The whole Assembly then rose and went towards the LEGATE, who was got up to meet them; and the Queen, in her own and the King's name, petitioned him to grant the pardon and reconciliation sued for. On this, the LEGATE, when they had taken again their seats, caused whatever related to the powers, with which he was invested, to be read, and then set forth, in a pathetic discourse, the thanks which were due to the divine goodness, for granting them the present opportunity of cancelling their past offences: "Providence," he said, "seemed to look on this Island with a particular complacency, having, first, called us, at a very early period, from Paganism to the worship of the true God; and, now, when we had separated our selves from his sheepfold, had been pleased to give us a sense and sorrow of our transgressions, preferably to any other people who had been engaged in the same unhappiness. If their repentance," he added, "was answerable to the importance of the occasion, and the heinousness of the fault, what joy must it cause to the Angels of Heaven to be spectators of the conversion of so populous a Kingdom, they who rejoice at the return to duty of a single Sinner?"

He then rose from his seat, and every one being on their knees, except the King and Queen who were standing, he pro-

nounced the general Absolution with a clear and distinct voice, and had scarcely repeated the names of the three Divine Persons, with which it ends, but they cried out, Amen, Amen. During the Absolution, the Queen and many others shed tears of joy and piety; and it being now over, they All rose up, and embraced one another, often repeating, *to day we are born again.* They then went to the Royal Chapel and returned thanks to Almighty God by the Hymn which is sung on all solemn occasions; and this great work having been completed on St. *Andrew's* day, the LEGATE afterwards procured a Canon to be made, in the Convocation of the Bishops and Clergy, appointing this festival to be kept henceforward with peculiar solemnity. *

I CANNOT pass over this memorable event without taking a review of some of those causes which seem to have prepared so speedy and universal a Revolution; one of the chief of which appears to have been the short distance of time, which was not much more than twenty years, since *England* had renounced the Religion, to which she now returned, and which had been the national worship for above nine Centuries. The Reader has seen, in the former part of this Work, the motives which induced *Henry VIII.* to begin this change, and by what methods he enforced it on his Subjects; and the fluctuating state both of principle and practice during all *Edward's* reign. To the facts which have been already advanced I shall only add the authority of two Witnesses, who, in this case, are above all exception; one of whom assigns very natural reasons for the little satisfaction which sensible and well disposed minds could find in such novelties; and the other sets forth, in a very impartial light, some Arguments, *which, as he expresses himself, may prevail on men of much reason and more piety, to entertain a favorable opinion*

* Il ritorno del Regno d'Inghilterra, &c. R. *Poli Epist.* pars 5^a p. 303 et seq. *Vita Poli*, fol. 26 et seq.

of the Religion, which the Nation now embraced. The first acknowledges, "that the licentious and dissolute life of many of the Professors of the Gospel, and which was but too visible in some of the more eminent among them; the open blemishes of some of the Clergy, who promoted the Reformation, contributed to alienate the People, to raise a general aversion, and to make the Nation entertain as advantageous a notion of the Religion they had quitted, as their prejudices had been strong against it: and to look on all the innovations that had been made as so many inlets into all manner of vice and wickedness." *

"THE members of the Roman Catholic communion, says the other Author, whose authority I have pleaded, may say, that their Religion was that of their Forefathers, and had the actual possession of mens minds before the opposite opinions had even a name; and having continued in it through such a length of time, it would be objected to them with an ill grace, that this was the effect of invention or design; because it was not likely that all ages should have the same purposes, or that the same doctrine should serve the different ends of several ages.—This prescription, moreover, rests on these grounds; that truth is more ancient than falsehood; and that God would not, for so many ages, have forsaken his Church and left her in error.—To this antiquity of doctrine is annexed an uninterrupted succession of their Bishops from the Apostles, and particularly of their supreme Bishop from St. Peter, whose personal prerogatives were so great; and the advantageous manner in which many eminent Prelates of other Sees, have expressed themselves with regard to the Church of Rome. This prerogative includes the advantages of Monarchy and the constant benefits which are derived from that form of Government.—Nor does the multitude and variety of

* Bp Burnet, hist. of Reformat. vol. 3. p. 217.

People,

People, who are of that persuasion; their apparent consent with elder ages and their agreement with one another form a less presumption in their favour.—The same conclusion, he says, must be inferred from the differences which have risen amongst their Adversaries, and from the casualties which have happened to many of them: from the oblique and sinister proceedings of some who have left their communion; from the appellation of Heretick and Schismatic which they fix on All who dissent from them.—To these negative arguments he adds those of a more positive kind; the beauty and splendor of the Church of *Rome*, her solemn service, the stateliness and magnificence of her Hierarchy, and the name of *Catholic*, which she claims as her own due, and to concern no other Sect of Christianity.—It has been their happiness to be instrumental to the conversion of many nations.—The World is witness to the piety and austerity of their Religious Orders; to the single life of their Priests and Bishops; the severity of their fasts and observances: to the great reputation of many of their Bishops for faith and sanctity, and the known holiness of some of those persons, whose Institutes the Religious Orders follow.”*

As the breach of the Nation with the Catholic Church was begun and carried on in the two latter reigns by renouncing the supremacy of the See of *Rome*; the acknowledgment of this Article seems to have been the characteristic which distinguished the return to the ancient Faith, in this. And though I am aware with what difficulty the proofs of the expediency, and, much more, of the necessity of such a means will be admitted, yet a knowing and judicious Reader might take just offence, should I question his deference for that which follows, or to the authority which enforces it. “It is well known, says the learned *Grotius*,

* Dr. *Jeremy Taylor*, on the liberty of Prophecyng.

speaking of himself, that I have always wished to see Christians reunited in the same Body; and I once thought this conjunction might be begun by an union of Protestants among themselves. I have since perceived that this is impossible, not only because the Calvinists are averse to all such agreements; but because Protestants are not associated under any one form of Government, and therefore cannot be united in one Body, but must necessarily be separated into other new sects and divisions. I, therefore, and many others with me, plainly see that this concord of Protestants can never be effected, unless they are united to the Roman See, without which no common Church government can take place: for which reason I wish that the separation, which has been made, and the causes of it, may cease. Now, amongst these, the canonical Primacy of the Bishop of *Rome* cannot, as *Melancthon* himself confesses, be placed; for he judges that very Primacy necessary in order to maintain and preserve unity.*

THE day after the reconciliation, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen waited on the LEGATE, and desired him to honour the city with his presence, in that character; and the first Sunday of *Advent* falling two days after, he went from *Lambeth* by water and landed at *St. Paul's* wharf, and being now entered the City, was met by all Orders of it; and from thence proceeded, in great state, to the Cathedral, the Cross, the Pillars and silver Pole-axes being bore before him. High Mass was celebrated, at which the King and Queen and the Court were present. The Bishop of *Winchester* preached on these words of *St. Paul*, which are read in

* *Grotius*' last reply to *Rivet*, wrote a short time before his death.

If the Reader would see the judgment of other Protestant Divines of our own country, on this point, he may consult *Dr. Field's* preface to his Book on the Church. *Dr. Hammond*, in his treatise on heresy, § 13. N°. 2, 3. and his Comment. on *1 Tim.* 3. 15. *Dr. Jack-*

son on the Creed, b. 2. ch. 4. page 165, and *Dr. Ferrer*; who all seem to extort from their Readers the same concession on this Article of the Catholic Faith, which *St. Paul* drew from *Agrippa* with respect to the Christian Religion in general, *Thou persuadest me almost to be a Christian.* *Acts*, Ch. xxvi. V. 28.

the

the lesson of that day, *Brethren it is now time for us to awake from sleep.*" *Rom. xiii.* He compared the state they had been in, during the two last reigns, to that of men labouring under the illusion of a dream, when reason is suspended and appetite takes its full range; in which circumstances, the indigent imagine they are wealthy, the wretched have an apprehension of pleasure, and the infamous of honour: but when the trance is over, as the Royal Prophet with great elegance represents their case, they find the whole to have been deception. He enumerated the errors they had fallen into, the public and private calamities, to which they had been subject, and the enormities they had committed. He insisted particularly on the injustice and cruelty which the LEGATE had suffered in his person, in the death of his nearest relations, and the confiscation of his fortunes. He informed them of what had passed, a few days ago, in Parliament, and exhorted them to approve of it. He fancied he saw a great congruity in several incidents which marked out the particular time, in which they were awakened to a sense of their duty; the least equivocal of which is, that it was brought about by means of the LEGATE. He confessed the share himself had in the national guilt, and requested of his Hearers, that as they had been influenced by him, when he went astray, they would now follow him in his return to duty.*

THE censures incurred by the Clergy, in the late disorders, were of a peculiar kind from those of the rest of the Realm; wherefore, on the Thursday following, the Bishops and others of that body met in Convocation, and, being on their knees, received pardon of all irregularities they had been liable to during these innovations.

IN this manner the substance of this great Revolution, with regard to all Orders of the Kingdom, was compleated:

* Excerpta per Archid. Cantuar. ex concione Epif. Vinto. R. Poli, Epist. pars 5^a. pag. 293.

but

but though the Church possessions had been made over and secured by the Papal Authority, in very plain and ample terms, to the Lay Owners, as has been seen in the Decrees already cited on that head; and there could be no grounds to suspect the validity of the conveyance; yet the object was too great not to engage all the caution of the interested parties. Accordingly, in a Session of Parliament, which was held soon after, this whole affair was recapitulated with an accuracy, of which we have few examples; and so large a share of the lands of *England* was adjudged to those, whose title, as to right, was very doubtful, and not only at their request, who were deprived of them, but with a disinterestedness which will ever do honour to their memory. The Reader may see the detail in our Statutes, where it is recorded in each particular; * but the subject of this history requires that I should here give the chief heads of it.

See pag.
56, et seq.

THE Lords Spiritual and Temporal and the Commons begin the Act " by acknowledging that many false and erroneous doctrines had been introduced since the twentieth year of her Majesty's Father's reign, as well by the natural Subjects of the Realm as by Foreigners, which had caused both the Clergy and Laity to swerve from the obedience of the Apostolic See, and leave the unity of Christ's Church: and that this defection had continued till her Majesty, being raised by God and placed on the throne of her Ancestors, the Pope had sent hither the most Reverend Father in God, CARDINAL POLE, his LEGATE, to recall the Nation to that right way, from which they had so long strayed. That, during this interval, they had been afflicted with many grievous calamities; but being, at length, through God's goodness, become sensible of their past errors, they had acknowledged them to the said LEGATE, and been received by him into the unity and bosom of Christ's Church. They had experienced

* Anno 1^o et 2^o *Phil.* et *Mar.* c. 8.

PART II.

N

this

this indulgence, they say, by virtue of their Majesties suing in their behalf; and upon their own humble submission and promise to repeal such Statutes as had been made against the See of *Rome*, since the above-mentioned year." Here they insert the several Acts and Clauses made against the Pope's Supremacy, and some Articles relating to Discipline; which are repealed and annulled.

THEY then go on to declare, "that being thus admitted into the unity of the Catholic Church, the obedience of the holy See, and the Pope governing the same, they were likewise desirous that all occasions of strife, suspicion, and trouble should be removed. The Bishopricks, therefore, and other religious Foundations, which they enumerate, and had been erected since the Schism, according to the laws of the Realm, were, in this view, confirmed, marriages contracted within the degrees forbidden by the Canons were ratified, and the offspring declared legitimate; and judicial Processes made before the Ordinaries, or, on appeal, before Delegates, were declared to stand good in law.

THE property of Church lands and revenues is the next Article, on which the Lords and Commons enter; and they set forth, "that to avoid any further scruple which might arise on account of such possessions, or of the suppression of Monasteries, and other Religious Foundations, which were come into the hands of diverse persons, either by gift, purchase, or exchange; it had pleased their Majesties to intercede with the LEGATE in favour of the actual Possessors; and that the same most Reverend Father in God had declared, that all persons, to whom a sufficient conveyance, according to the common laws of the land, had been made of the said lands and possessions, might, without any scruple of conscience, enjoy them; and that they should suffer no molestation on pretence of decrees of General Councils, or of the Canon Law; and be clear from any danger of the Church's censures.

HERE, they insert the petition presented to the King and Queen, on this subject, by the Bishops and Clergy of the Province

vince of *Canterbury*, which is to the following purpose: "that, although in virtue of their character, and the respective Offices they filled, they were the natural Guardians of the Rights and Possessions of the Church, and therefore it might seem incumbent on them to endeavour to recover whatever had been lost or scattered in the late Schism; yet, after a mature deliberation on the whole affair, they ingenuously confess how difficult, and even impracticable such a recovery would be on account of the many intricacies in which these dealings have been involved; and should such an attempt be made, the peace and tranquillity of the Kingdom would be disturbed; and that unity with the Catholic Church which the piety and authority of their Majesties had now established, could hardly be advanced so as to gain its desired end. Wherefore, as they preferred the public quiet to all private considerations; and the salvation of souls, ransomed by the blood of Christ, to all earthly goods; and did not seek their own profit but the glory of their Redeemer, they gave their assent to whatever should be enacted in this affair, and besought the Lord LEGATE not to be reserved or difficult in such dispensations."—At the same time, not to be wanting to what they owed to their respective stations, "they humbly entreat their Majesties, that they would cause that liberty and jurisdiction, without which they could not exercise their several functions, to be restored to them; and to provide for the necessities of the Churches of their Kingdom, particularly of the Parochial and others to which the care of Souls is annexed."

At this place, both Houses turn again their discourse to the King and Queen, to whom they address themselves through this long and accurate Statute, and rehearse, at full length, the Decree, by which the LEGATE had granted these Dispensations, and wherein is confirmed whatever had hitherto been declared by the Act.—The LEGATE particularly declares, that the Possessors neither of the moveable nor immoveable goods of the Church should ever be liable to any censure or Ecclesiastical punishment for

detaining and not restoring them : that, by this decree all power was taken away of ever giving a different judgment in these affairs ; and if any thing of this kind should be attempted, it was, by the present Act, declared to be of no effect."—Notwithstanding this sentence, which was penned with the same latitude of indulgence as if it had been dictated by the interested parties, the LEGATE had observed ; " that, whereas the division of Bishopricks, and the foundation of Cathedral Churches were of the number of those greater Causes, which are reserved to the Pope, recourse was to be had to him, and a petition presented, that he would be pleased to confirm or renew the dispositions already made on these heads."

HE had, moreover, declared, " that though the dispensation extended indiscriminately to the actual Possessors of all moveable Church goods, yet he had admonished them to place before their eyes the severity of God's judgments on *Belsazzar* King of *Babylon*, for appropriating the sacred Vessels to a profane use, tho' not He, but his Father had taken them out of the Temple of *Jerusalem* ; and that this example should prevail on them to restore all such Vessels to the Churches, to which they had formerly belonged, or to others.—He had, likewise, exhorted all those, whom it might concern, and entreated them through the bowels of mercy of our Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST, that, from a regard to their own eternal lot, they would provide out of the Church lands, such especially as had been set aside for the maintenance of the Parochial Clergy, a competent subsistence for those who exercised that charge, which might enable them to live creditably, according to their state, and perform their functions, and support the burden of their calling."

HAVING related this Decree at full length and in Latin, their Lordships and the Commons return their most dutiful thanks to their Majesties, by whose means it was obtained ; and then go on to enact, that all these Dispensations shall be received into the
Body

Body of the English Laws, to be alledged and pleaded either by the Plaintiff or Defendant, in all Courts, Ecclesiastical and Temporal: and whoever, by any process obtained out of any Ecclesiastical Court, whether within or without the Realm, should molest any one on account of Abbey or other Church lands, is declared to incur the forfeitures contained in the Act *Præmunire*. But they make a provision, that it shall be lawful to sue, at any competent Court, within the Realm, for tythes, rights and duties that were to be raised on the said possessions, in as ample a manner as before this Statute was made.

“THEY further declare, that though the title of Supreme Head of the Church of *England* never was, nor could be lawfully attributed to any Sovereign Governor of this Realm, nor in any wise be lawfully claimed by them; yet that all Letters Patent and other writings, which had been issued out in that style, might be kept and pleaded.—The Papal Dispensations, also, and other Decrees of the Court of *Rome*, which had been made void in *Henry's* reign, were to have their former force; and, if it could be made to appear, they had been cancelled, they might be pleaded in as available a manner as if they were entire.”

AT the dissolution of the Monasteries, several Parish Churches and Chapels, which till then had been exempted from Episcopal Jurisdiction, and subject to the Abbots of these Houses, were now, under colour of these exemptions, and by grants from the two last Kings, transferred to the government of Laymen.—“The Parliament, therefore, declares that all such jurisdiction shall hereafter be exercised by Spiritual persons: for which provision this high Court of Judicature assigns the following reason, that Lay Patrons can no more enjoy a Supremacy over particular Churches, than the King might over the whole Realm.—A Clause is added in favour of the two Universities, and some other privileged places; and of such temporal Lords and Possessors as by ancient custom had enjoyed the probat of their Tenants or others, Wills.”

THE

THE last Articles of this celebrated Statute are truly becoming the religion and dignity of the British Legislature; for having acknowledged, in a foregoing part of the Act, the Supremacy of the See of *Rome*, and that no such claim could have been used by the Sovereigns of this Realm: "they here assert the independence and high prerogative of the Imperial Crown of *England*, against whatever may seem to derogate from it; and, first, they observe, that after the union of this Noble Realm to the Body of Christ's Church, it is to be trusted, that, by the abundance of God's grace and mercy, Devotion will encrease in the hearts of many of the British Subjects, with a desire to bestow their worldly possessions for the resuscitating of alms, prayer, and the example of a good life in this Realm; and to the intent that such godly motions and purposes should be advanced.—They declare, therefore, that it shall be lawful to give, or bequeath by Will, Manors, Lands, and other Kinds of possessions, to any Spiritual Body politic or corporate within the Kingdom, notwithstanding the *Mortmain* Acts: but this clause for giving liberty to amortize lands and tenements, was only to continue in force during the space of twenty years."

HAVING, in this manner, made the necessary provision for what concerned Religion and the revival of Piety, they conclude, as has been said, by declaring that nothing in the present Statute, or in the Preambles to the several Articles of it, shall be construed to derogate from the pre-eminence of the British Crown, which was to remain as in the twentieth year of her Majesty's Father's reign; and the Bishop of *Rome* was restored to the authority and jurisdiction, which by reason of his Supremacy, he might at that time have exercised, without diminution or enlargement.—The Bishops, and other Ordinaries, are, likewise, reinstated in the Jurisdiction they had, in the same year, as to process of suits, punishment of crimes, execution of the Church's censures, and knowledge of Causes belonging to any of these heads.

THERE

THERE is a remarkable order and propriety in the division of the Articles of this Statute, which leads the Reader from one to another with no less distinction than if he was to be brought acquainted with only a single one of them; and each is enounced with an energy suitable to the subject matter. The ancient phrase, in which they are penned, gives a gravity to the composition beyond all the graces which our present language can boast; and our best Writers will admire, in what was wrote above 200 years ago, those manly beauties which are so much superior to all the polish of modern art.

THESE transactions are so honourable to the Church of *Rome*, that no one will wonder the Adversaries of that Communion, because they could not deny the facts, should either misrepresent them, or, like the Poet, call off the Reader's attention from the principal Action to incidents which fancy forms round it. It has been objected, from *Fra-Paulo*, that when the English Ambassadors came to *Rome*, some short time after the Act I have cited, was passed, *Paul IV.* Successor to *Marcellus*, who only filled the Pontifical Throne a few Days after *Julius III.* signified to them his displeasure that the Church lands were not given back, and insisted on the necessity of a restitution, as such dispensations were beyond the extent of his power.—But, to say nothing of this Author's want of good faith on so many other occasions, the account he here gives is sufficiently refuted by the Journal of the House of Commons, which informs us, “that after other proceedings, a Bull of the Pope was read, which confirmed what the Lord CARDINAL had done concerning the assurance of Abbey lands:” * and this final Decree, by which these possessions are excepted from all future revocation seems to have been granted by *Paul IV.* at the requisition of CARDINAL POLE; for he lets *Philip* know, he had wrote to have it sent immediately; and ex-

Æn. l. 4.
v. 165.

* Journal of the House of Commons, October 21, 1555.

pected

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE

pected the return of the Messenger, who was to bring it.*—*Dugdale* is no less clear on this point, and produces a special decree of the same Pope, which confirms the lands held by Sir *William Petre*: † nor is there the least trace of what *Fra-Paulo* asserts, either in the Journal of the Consistories, which the Pope held on this occasion; ‡ or in his letter to the King and Queen, of which I shall speak hereafter, and where every thing material to the business is set forth at length.

BUT though the Pontiff never annulled any of these Grants, yet his austere temper, and the animosity he had formerly conceived against the English CARDINAL, of which there will be occasion to enter into a detail elsewhere, might have caused him to tell the Ambassadors, he had behaved with too great facility, and given up too much, and without a suitable consideration.

A FURTHER cavil has been frequently urged, alike destitute of truth and candour; that there was no real design of making over the Church lands to the Lay Owners, but that the whole affair was a fraud which still left room for resumption. || But the malignity of such abuse can only reflect dishonour on the Authors

* De Bullâ autem, quâ hujus Regni bona Ecclesiastica ab ejus Sanctitatis revocatione nominatim excipiantur, scripsimus, ut primo quoque tempore mittatur. Nunc mei Nuncii reditus expectatur, cui eam perferendam dare cogitabant. 16 Septemb. 1555. *R. Poli*, ep. p. 5. pag. 42.

† *Monaf.* vol. 3, fol. 207.

‡ See *Reg. Pole's* letters, part 5, pag. 132, and the following.

|| A letter from Sir *William Coventry* to Dr. *Burnet*, printed with some other papers in 1685. This piece was answered with great judgment and solidity

by *Nath. Johnston*, M. D. a Gentleman of the Church of England, in a treatise intitled, *the Assurance of Abbey and other Church lands to the Possessors*.—Dr. *Burnet* abets likewise the above mentioned insinuation, by a papal Decree concerning Church lands in the Kingdom of *Naples*; in which the affairs of *England* are no more concerned, than the settlement of the British Crown in the Pragmatic Saction. *Appen. to the Hist. of the Ref.* pag. 367. But every thing was an offensive weapon in the Bishop's hands, when the Catholic cause was to be annoyed, and he might have taken for his Motto,

Dolus an Virtus quis in Hoste requirat?

of

of it; and has been sufficiently refuted through the whole series of this narrative. — The plainness, likewise, and simplicity of *Be-catelli's* account, who was the LEGATE's Secretary, is a no less advantageous argument in its favour. — Having, first, commended his Lord's zeal in persuading the Queen to give up the Church lands which were invested in the Sovereign; and which, as by the express declaration of the Statute I have quoted, she was at full liberty to do, during twenty years, he adds; "it was judged adviseable, with the Pope's consent, in order to avoid further disturbances, that no inquiry should be made concerning such possessions, which were promiscuously occupied over the Nation; but to leave to each one's determination to act in this case as he thought fit." — This relation of the Historian is greatly corroborated by the tenth Article of the Assembly of the Clergy, which CARDINAL POLE convened the next year; whereby, though future alienations were prohibited, the Grants already made by the authority of the holy See, are declared to be no longer subject to resumption. — The same is attested by *Camden* and *Heylin*, both very candid Historians, and the former a very knowing Antiquary.

THE Possessors, therefore, of Church lands have all the security which the nature of the case admits; and no private property seems to be held by so firm a tenure. The public good and tranquillity both of the Church and State was the inducement to this conveyance, in which the authority of the See of Rome confirmed

* Ac, ne qua turba excitaretur, placuit, consentiente Pontifice, nil de reliquis bonis quæri, quæ passim multi possidebant, sed liberum omnibus relinqui id agere quod quisque vellet. *Poli Vita*, fol. 32, à tergo.

† Exceptis tamen semper iis, quæ circa bona Ecclesiastica, antè ab Ecclesiâ ablata, jam autoritate Apostolicâ constituta sunt. *Conc. Mag. Brit.* t. 4, p. 125.

‡ The Revenues taken from the Church by *Henry* and *Edward*, were confirmed to the Queen and the present Possessors. *Camd. Introd. to the Annals of Eliz.* p. 8.

Pope *Julius* issued out a decree with some reasons which might seem to induce him to confirm all such lands on the present Occupants. *Dr. Heylin*, Pref. to the Hist. of the Refor.

the petition of a National Clergy, which was the injured party; and the unanimous consent of the whole Legislature of a great People: all which was ratified by the LEGATE's full power and actual dispensation.—Could a transaction, which carries with it every condition by which human compacts are rendered stable, stand in need of any weight which the Writer can give it; I think it may be affirmed, that nothing less than the joint concurrence of all the Parties, who assented to this agreement, can either annul or invalidate it: and I have entered on this detail, because, from views which need not be indicated, no part of our history, has been related with more want of good faith, and left the Reader open to greater prejudices.

THE Houses did not break up on the memorable day, on which the Nations reconciliation with the Catholic Church was compleated, till four of the Clock; yet the LEGATE, the same evening, dispatched an Express to the Pope with the news of this great Event.—The congratulation is drawn from every topic which so copious a theme afforded; and he particularly felicitates himself, that notwithstanding his fears lest the long aversion which the Nation had entertained to the holy See might cause him to descend to some unbecoming conditions; he had experienced the effect of his earnest entreaty to their Majesties, that no such disagreeable incident might happen.—The whole affair, he says, had been transacted in the general Council of the Nation, and in the presence of the Sovereigns, with an universal satisfaction; and the discourse, by which he delivered himself, and the benediction, with which the general absolution is closed, was received with the unanimous approbation of All present. This, says he, is a strong indication, that the original principle of right belief, in this People, though long suppressed, still retains its primitive vigour*. My joy, he adds, is equal to the importance of so

* Non poteram non in aliquo timore versari ob eam difficultatem quam affere-

bat nostrorum hominum abalienata à Sede Apostolica Voluntas: sed multo magis
desirable

desirable an event, of such advantage to the holy Church, so honourable to the Princes who were instrumental to it, and so salutary to a Country which first gave me birth, and now receives me from banishment.

THE King, likewise, on the same day, wrote to the Pope a letter of great respect, and informed him, "that the Kingdom, by the unanimous consent of their Representatives, had testified an unfeigned repentance of their past misdemeanors, and no less satisfaction for having yielded their obedience to the holy See, and being absolved, by the LEGATE, at the Queen's, and his, the King's, intercession.—The joy which these relations occasioned at *Rome*, was signified to the LEGATE by Cardinal *Moron*, who takes notice particularly, that *Philip's* letter had even made an impression on the French, who were there*.

BUT this Revolution was too interesting to be communicated only to the Court of *Rome*: and the French King having treated the LEGATE, when he was at his Court, with a distinguished good will, the latter judged it a decency he owed that Monarch to inform him of the late Event. As the commission with which the Pope had charged him to endeavour a reconciliation between the Houses of *Austria* and *Valois*, still subsisted, he made both these Articles the subject of his Letter.—"I could do no less, says he, than write to your Majesty, on the happy change which *England* has lately seen, especially as it was brought about by the same upright measures which I always judged most suitable to the accomplishment of a peace between your Majesty and the Emperor. This sentiment has induced me to congratulate your Ma-

verbar ne ingressus in causam aliquā interpositā minus honestā pactione inquinaretur. Quod quidem ne accideret vehementer egeram eum Regibus.—Acta est res in Concilio totius Regni, præsentibus Regibus, tantā omnium consensione et plausu, ut cum ego verba fecissem, ad exaratum benedictione absolvendā, ab

Universis certatim iusticiā voluntatum ac studiorum significatione acclamatum sapius sit. Ex quo planè perspectum est in his populo sanctum illud semen, etsi diu oppressum, non tamen extinctum fuisse. *R. Poli Epist. pars 5^a, pag. 1.*

* *Ibid.* pag. 92.

30th Dec.
1554.

jeſty on ſuch an inſtance of the divine mercy, as I well know, from what you have been pleaſed to ſay to me on that ſubject, how agreeable it will be to you: and to ſignify how rejoiced I ſhould be to contribute to the other reconciliation, with which I am charged.—He wrote to the ſame purpoſe, to the Lord High Conſtable of *France*, who held a diſtinguiſhed place in his Prince's favour; and requeſts of him to uſe his prudence and authority to cauſe the King to enter into the pacific diſpoſitions he had recommended to him.

THE French King, by a very obliging letter, aſſured the LEGATE of the ſhare he took in the news he had communicated to him; and in the circumſtance of his being choſe by Providence to be the inſtrument of ſo great a Bleſſing. Your zeal, my Lord, ſays he, your ſincerity, and your ſkill in the management of affairs, has chiefly contributed to ſo ſalutary a work; and the Title I enjoy of moſt Chriſtian King, which ſhould remind me to place what concerns the worſhip of the ſupreme Being above all other conſiderations, has cauſed me to praife Almighty God, and ordered my whole Kingdom to praife him, for the moſt welcome intelligence I could ever have heard. As for yourſelf, my Lord, my congratulations with you are perſonal; and I ſhall, hereafter, love and eſteem you, in a higher degree than I have yet done, for having brought this great affair to a happy iſſue; and likewise, for the inclination, which, from a regard to the public good, you ſhew for peace between the Emperor and myſelf*.

Dec. 1554.

SUCH Letters, I know, are generally ſuppoſed to mean much leſs than the words imply; but though they may not always indicate the Writer's real ſentiments, they are an acknowledgement of thoſe diſpoſitions which he is conſcious would become him on the like occaſions.

Soon after, the Queen ſent a ſolemn Embaſſy to *Rome*, to ac-

* *Ambaſſades de Noailles*, tom. 3, pag. 324, et ſeq.

knowledge the supremacy in her own and the King's name, and that of the whole Nation. The Bishop of *Ely* was to perform this on the part of the Clergy; Lord *Montacute*, the LEGATE's Nephew, on that of the Nobility; and Sir *Edward Carne*, who remained the Queen's Ambassador in ordinary, for the Commons. They set out towards the end of *February*; and the French King, notwithstanding the Queen's partiality to the Emperor, had given orders to have them received in all places of his dominions, thro' which they passed, with great honour, and have every convenience furnished them at his expence*." Some time before they began their journey, the LEGATE had sent a very honourable testimony of them to the Pope, and had entered on a particular detail of the merits of each. He had, likewise, signified to him, "that as *Ireland* had been erected into a Kingdom during the Schism, and other public concerns which were transacted in that interval, having been confirmed by the authority of the holy See, their Majesties were desirous that this also might receive the same stability, before the arrival of their Ambassadors at *Rome*. On this account, they ordered him, whom they had appointed Protector of their Realms at his Holiness's Court, to ask this in their names, as he then did. That as to the Protectorship, since his absence did not allow him to perform the duties which it brought with it, he had already requested Cardinal *Moron* to take on himself what concerned *England*; and he now made the same petition to Cardinal *Carpo* in favour of *Ireland*; that as he had formerly exerted his good offices towards that Island, he would still continue them in his, the LEGATE's stead.—He moreover, entreats the Pope to remit to the new Bishops the usual fees for their Patents, on account of the dilapidation to which all their Sees had been exposed through the calamities of the late years; and he shews how deserving they were of this indulgence: But

* *Ambassades de Noailles*, tom. 4. pag. 189.

Dr. Rich.
Pates.

London, 10
March,
1555.
23d Mar.
9th April.

he adds, that the Bishop of *Worcester*,* who many years during the two last reigns had subsisted on the liberality of the Court of *Rome*, had, from a sense of his obligations, desired this favour might not be extended to him."†

This letter was scarcely sent when advice came of the death of the Pope *Julius III.* and of *Marcellus Cervini* having been chosen to succeed him. His eminent virtue had connected him very intimately, when he was a private Cardinal, with our Countryman, as appears from the many letters which passed between them, which are still extant, and the tears which he shed at the news of his death. On the first information of this election he immediately signified to the Pontiff the joy he had received from it, and the expectation it had raised in the whole Christian world of seeing the church reformed no less by his example than his ordinances.—He lets him know, at the same time, that he had been chosen to negotiate a peace between the Emperor and the French King, at a congress where the respective Ambassadors of these Princes were to give him a meeting: and being to execute this commission on the part of the holy See, he desires the Pope's orders with respect to the conduct he was to observe in the whole affair.‡ These expectations va-

Richmond,
1st May.

* This Prelate was born in, *Oxfordshire*, and having received the first part of his education at *Corpus Christi College*, finished it at the University of *Paris*. On his return home he was advanced to several Church preferments, and employed in a public Character at the Emperor's Court. In 1539 he was consecrated Bishop of *Worcester* and sent again to the same Court, but refusing to come back to *England*, on a dislike to *Henry VIIIth* proceedings, in 1547 he was deprived of his Spiritualities and attainted of high treason.—He remained in banishment during *Edward's* reign, and sat in the Council of *Trent*. Queen *Mary* recalled him to his Country in

1544 and restored him to the See of *Worcester*. On the succeeding revolution, under *Elizabeth*, he was, a second time, deprived of his Bishoprick, for refusing the oath of Supremacy; and, going abroad, assisted at the close of the Council of *Trent*, and therefore must have been alive in 1563.—Bishop *Pates* was learned and of a peaceable disposition; and, though zealous for the faith of his Ancestors, was averse to all violent proceedings, on account of Religion. Godw. de Præ. Ang. Fox, year 1559. Hump. in vitâ Juelli, 1573, pag. 179. Ath. Oxon. p. 694.

† *R. Poli*, Epist. pars 5^a. pag. 4.

‡ *Ibid*, pag. 7.

nished

nished by the sudden death of *Marcellus*, which happened on the twentieth Day after his election, and whilst the English Ambassadors were on their road to *Rome*, and his Successor was chosen a few Days after.

23d May.

In the mean time, the incident of the death of two Popes gave the Courts of *England* and *France* an opportunity of shewing what their concurrent sentiments were of CARDINAL POLE; and tho' the shortness of time which intervened between each election did not allow them to procure the supreme post of honour to his merit, they had not failed to signify their own sense of it.—The Queen's orders, on this occasion, to *Gardiner*, Bishop of *Winchester* and high Chancellor, to the Earl of *Arundel* and the Lord *Paget*, who were then at *Calais*, on a project of peace, between *France* and the Emperor, are to the following purpose.—“ She begins by telling them, that, in order to redress the various evils which afflicted the whole state of Christendom, much would depend on raising a fit person to the Papacy; and she was aware of the great inconveniences which must befall the common cause, if worldly considerations alone were consulted: she would, therefore, for the discharge of what she owed both to God and the World, use her best endeavours that a person might be chosen, without farther delay, who was qualified to fill up the measure of this character; and she knew no one so likely to do it as her dearest Kinsman, the Lord CARDINAL POLE.—That, as he had, many years been universally acknowledged deserving of that high station, on account of his great learning, his experience, and the integrity of his life, she wills them to take a favourable opportunity of treating, in her name, with the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, the Lord Constable, and the other French Commissioners, that this election may be promoted by the French King, and the Cardinals who were in his interest; and, if it took place, she makes no doubt but his Majesty and every one else would have cause to rejoice and give thanks to God.—She assures *Henry*, that had she
known

known any one more worthy of that eminent station, no personal attachment should have prevailed on her to give her Kinsman the preference; she calls on the searcher of hearts to witness the truth of this declaration.—They might, also, certify him, on her word and honour, that she made this overture to him without the consent or knowledge of the CARDINAL; and that any other mention of his wisdom, sincerity, and other excellent qualities, was needless, as these were known to her good Brother the French King; and to the rest of *Europe* *.”

Hampton-
Court,
10th May,
1555.

THE letter here cited, enters on a much larger detail of what I have only set down the substance: but the French King wanted no inducement besides his own inclination and esteem, to advance CARDINAL POLE to the Popedom. As soon, therefore, as he had advice of it being vacated, he ordered the High Constable of *France* to write to Lord of *Noailles*, his Ambassador at the English Court, “that, from an uncommon opinion of his goodness, and the singular affection he bore him, he was desirous of seeing him in a Post equal to his merit, and had omitted nothing, at this juncture, to advance him to the Papacy; and if he, the LEGATE, knew any good office, which might contribute to it, the King desired to be informed, as he had nothing more at heart than that this opportunity might not escape them†.”—This letter was accompanied with another to the LEGATE, which was to be delivered by the Ambassador; and he informs the High Constable, “that He read it with great attention, and testified his obligations to the King for his gracious purposes in his regard; and truly, says the Ambassador, his good qualities are so estimable, and his whole character so much above all blame, that I do not think there is any one living, who can have any objection to it.”—The suddenness of the election, as has been

Chantilly,
10th May.

15th May.

* An Original in the Cotton Lib. Titus b. 2. produced at length by Bp. Burnet, Hist. of the Reformation, part 2, p. 282, of the Col. of Records, N^o. 18. † Ambassades de *Noailles*, tom. 4, pag. 301. ‡ Ibid. p. 305.

said,

said, first of *Marcellus*, after *Julius*; and then of *Paul*, after *Marcellus*, stopped any further proceedings in this affair, and we only learn from it, that two rival Courts, who had opposite views in all other concerns, seemed to vie with each other, and to have but one common interest when the commendation of CARDINAL POLE was the theme, or his advancement the prize.

WHILST these measures were concerting at the Courts of *England* and *France*, the Ambassadors of the former arrived at *Rome*, and made their entry into the Capital of the Christian world the day on which *Paul IV.* was crowned; which was a circumstance he looked on as honourable, and which carried with it a presage in favour of his election. They entered *Rome* with a numerous and splendid retinue, and suited to the solemnity of the occasion, on which they came; and, five days after, in the first Consistory which was held after the Pope's coronation, he admitted them to his presence.—They prostrated themselves at his feet, and, in that posture, acknowledged the errors of the Schism, and the other misdeeds of the Nation, which they enumerated in some detail.—They confessed, in particular, the ill return they had made for the many instances of love and regard, by which the holy See had distinguished them; and humbly craved pardon for all.—After which the Pope raised them from the ground, embraced them, and, in their persons, received the whole nation into his favour.*—So great was his satisfaction at an Embassy of such importance, that He wrote to the King and Queen an account of the audience he had given to their Ambassadors; out of which, as it is greatly recommended by the dignity of the Relator, I shall give the Reader the following extracts.

“He informs their Majesties, that Lord *Montague*, the Bishop of *Ely*, and Sir *Edward Carne*, being arrived at *Rome* on the 5th of *June*, had audience of him in the Princes' Hall, five days after;

* Ex Actis Consistorialibus, part of which are cited *R. Poli Epist.* pars 5^a, p. 132.

at which the Cardinals, the foreign Ambassadors, a great number of Bishops and Prelates, all His own Court, and the whole body of the Roman Nobility were present.—That they had made, in the Nation's name, a proper submission for past errors and failings, and had been received into his fatherly bosom and embrace.—That he had ratified whatever the English LEGATE had done; and, as far as might any ways be necessary, had enacted it anew.—That, when the whole was over, the Bishop of Ely had pronounced so pathetic and pertinent a discourse, as to move the Hearers to tears.—As to what concerns the LEGATE, says the holy Father, there is nothing which either their Majesties or himself could do for his honour and embolument, but what was inferior to his probity and other virtues; and to what he deserved of him, the Pope, of the holy See, of their Majesties, and the whole Realm*.

30th June,

THE Ambassadors delivered, likewise, a letter from the LEGATE to the Pope, in which, after the usual compliments, "he mentions with great complacence the hopes he entertained of seeing a Reformation, which was so much desired and so much wanted, effected by a Pontiff, whose former life had been remarkable for regularity, and those virtues, the practice of which he was to revive in others.—The undertaking, he owned, was attended with great difficulties, yet was of such a nature, that whoever engaged in it seriously, would meet with great comfort; and that the whole Christian world would rejoice in proportion as they perceived his Holiness took this work to heart; and if Christians in general, and the persons of his, the LEGATE's profession, more than others, were bound to aid him in this laudable attempt, he thought it needless to produce Vouchers for the promptitude of his own obedience in this particular.—He should therefore wait the orders his Holiness should

* Ex Actis Consistorialibus, pag. 136.

be pleased to give him, as soon as he was informed in what situation the affairs were, with which the two late Popes *Julius* and *Marcellus* had entrusted him*.

The Pope, at the same time, and at the request of their Britannic Majesties, erected *Ireland* into a Kingdom; and as the petition, in consequence of which this concession was made, may now seem very extraordinary to an English Reader, he may not be displeased with a brief narrative of the reasons of it.—The petty Princes of that Island having been assisted, in the 12th century, by *Henry II.* against the invasions of the Danes and Swedes; they, in their turn, acknowledged Him for their Sovereign, and paid him tribute. The King desired *Adrian IV.* to ratify this concession, and confirm his claim to the Country; which that Pope granted, on condition he would endeavour to establish Christianity in its purity, and pay a certain annual acknowledgement to the holy See: and the succeeding Kings of *England*, for near 400 years, considered *Ireland* as part of their domain, though it still continued to pay obedience to particular Governors, who were native Irish.—*Henry VIII.* in 1541, took the title of King of *Ireland*, which, in the following year, was confirmed to him by Parliament: but as this was done during the Nation's separation from the Church of *Rome*, *Philip* and *Mary* were desirous that, when the Schism was ended, it might be ratified by the Pope †.

THE LEGATE had accomplished a Work which required a zeal and abilities as enlightened and extensive as his: and now a foreign great exigence called him forth, in which, if he had not the success he met with in his own Country, his integrity and talents for negotiation appeared to no less advantage, and were acknowledged with equal applause.—A long and destructive war

* *R. Poli* Epist. pars 5^a. pag. 11.

date, 7th of *June*, 1555. Ex Actis Consistorialibus, Epist. *R. Poli*, pars 5^a.

† The Bull of this concession bears date, 136.

had depopulated the Empire and *France*, and *CARDINAL POLE*, as we have seen, had been employed at both these Courts, to negotiate a reconciliation, and had addressed a fine discourse, of which the Reader has seen the contents, to the interested Princes. These endeavours, though they had caused the French to admire his parts and uprightness, had no other effect on the Emperor than to give him a pretext of taxing the *LEGATE* with partiality; and the treaty was dropped. But the happy termination of his late transactions in *England*, had given him such a figure in *Europe*, as made it difficult to determine which of those qualities which constitute a great and good man appeared with more superiority; and there was no undertaking to which he was not judged equal. Though the war between *Charles V.* and *Henry of France* still continued, they both seemed willing that a treaty of peace might again be attempted, and the French Ambassador had signified to the Count of *Montmorency*, that it would be very desirable that he should be appointed to preside, on the part of the most Christian King; and the Duke of *Alba*, on that of the Emperor, at the Congress which was to be held for that purpose*.

THE *LEGATE*, likewise, who, as the Ambassador expresses himself, had undertaken this affair, had wrote to the French King, to the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, and to the Count of *Montmorency*, in order to give an opening to the negotiation; and, that none of the formalities might be wanting, he had let them know, he was appointed by the Pope to assist at it†. Soon after, the Prothonotary *Noailles*, Brother to the Ambassador, came over to compliment the Queen on the happy change of the Realm, and brought with him letters to the *LEGATE*, from the French King and his Ministers, in answer to the overtures he made of peace; and the conferences were accordingly renewed. The Chancellor *Gardiner*, who was the next person to the *LEGATE* both in

* *Negociations de Noailles*, tom. 4, pag. 63. † *Ibid.*

office and authority, of those who assisted at them, had ever been in the interests of the Emperor and his Son *Philip*; and therefore the French suspected all his declarations, and the measures he proposed; and whenever any thing concerning the peace did not go on with such expedition, or in the channel they desired, they never failed to impute it to the influence which he had with the Queen and the LEGATE, and the perverse use, they imagined he made of it; on which the two Brothers express themselves with remarkable bitterness*. — He was not ashamed to tell me, says the Prothonotary, in the account he gives of this conference to the Count of *Montmorency*, that he was doubtful if the LEGATE's abilities were answerable to such an undertaking, unless he was assisted by persons more expert than himself: on which he entered into such a fit of jealousy, that I was obliged to soothe him, by answering, that you, my Lord, had so high an opinion of him, as to desire that the Queen and himself, if they thought proper, would take part in the negotiation, on account of the sincerity of the one, and the authority of the other, and the justice of the cause, and the uprightness of the intentions of the King my Master: and that his Majesty would have made no difficulty to have left the management of the whole affair to them, as far as was consistent with honour and reason: to which the Chancellor abruptly replied; that though the Queen and himself had a very sincere desire of seeing peace established between the contending Powers, yet as they were looked on to be biased towards one of them, they could not decently interfere in it: that the LEGATE, who was soon to pass the Sea, was the only person; from whom this salutary office could be expected; but yet, he should think himself very happy to contribute all within his power, if you, my Lord, judged he could be serviceable to it†. — This was the after-game which *Gardiner's* disappointed am-

* *Negociations de Noailles*, tom. 4, pag. 119.† *Ibid.* pag. 120.

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE

bition played: and the French King let the Prothonotary and his Brother know; that he had always had a confidence in the LEGATE's good faith and sincerity, answerable to the distrust he lay under of the contrary qualities in the Emperor and those of his faction, to whose interests the circumstances he was in, must, in some sort, have made him hitherto favourable*.

BOTH these Ministers seem to have entertained a very disadvantageous opinion of our Countrymen, and the younger of the Brothers writing to the Lord High Constable, on a conference he had with the Chancellor, "your Lordship, says he, may judge from hence, what small dependance can be laid on the greatest personages of this nation, since they are so addicted to change even in affairs of the highest concern †:" and the elder Brother, in a letter to the King, "though the English in general, says he, seem thoroughly bent on entering on measures prejudicial to *France*, they were so variable that he did not think they were yet come to any fixed resolution: nor did the wind veer to every point of the Compass with more unexpected changes, than their minds to the most opposite ways of thinking: thus, though *Philip* and *Mary* desired to bring about a peace, as *Noailles* assures the Count of *Montmorency*, more earnestly than any of the King's Subjects in *Picardy*, which was laid waste by fire and sword, nothing was obtained ‡."

THE LEGATE, at first, insinuated that the Queen and himself were desirous this treaty might be carried on in *England*; but on *Noailles*' remonstrating, that a neutral place on the Continent, where the Deputies on each party might meet; and the LEGATE assist as not engaged on either side, would be more suitable; he very ingenuously acknowledged this to be the most expedient means, but doubted if the Emperor and his Son would be easily brought to assent to it. At length the Preliminaries to the Con-

* *Negociations de Noailles*, tom 4. p. 179. † *Ibid.* p. 183. ‡ *Ibid.*

gress, which are as circumstantial as the prelude to a feat of Chivalry, were adjusted; and it was agreed, that the Emperor should send the Duke of *Alva* to *Gravelines*, as a person of suitable rank to the High Constable of *France**, who was to come to *Ardres*, on the part of that Nation. The English LEGATE had likewise signified his desire that the Cardinal of *Lorraine* might assist at the conferences; and the Emperor having no person of equal dignity with this Prelate, that part of the ceremonial was superseded. The Lords *Paget* and *Arundel* were to arrive with the LEGATE, at *Calais*. The place fixed for the meeting was *Marc*, a village situated near *Ardres*, *Guignes*, and *Calais*; not far from which the Queen had caused an extemporary building, in form of a square tent, consisting of four Pavilions, to be raised in a large plain, which was at an equal distance from *Calais* and the frontiers of the Empire and *France*. The space between the Pavilions was inclosed with curtains, and surrounded with a ditch and palisades. The LEGATE occupied the lodgment to the east, and the English Noblemen and others, who came with him, that to the west: the quarter of the Germans was to the south; that of the French to the north. In the centre of the Pavilions was a spacious room covered with linnen, and hung with rich tapestry, where the conferences were to be held. They began towards the middle of *May*, and the Cardinal of *Lorraine* and the Lord High Constable had some private meetings with the LEGATE, in order to facilitate what was to be afterwards debated with the Emperor's Agents. But as this method was perceived to be but slow, all the Ministers met, and though the points in question were debated with great temper, yet each of the contending parties insisted, with such obstinacy, on their several pretensions, that from the first general conference, it was seen they

1555.

* The first Officer of the Crown of *France*; he commanded the Army after the King, and before the Marshals,

and took place next to the Princes of the blood. This Office was suppressed by *Lewis XIII.* in 1627.

would

would come to no agreement. The LEGATE, on this, proposed another expedient, which was to chuse Arbitrators, who might adjudge, in an amicable manner, whatever was the subject of contention, and to cement by inter-marriages an union thus concluded*. But though the French shewed no dislike to these alliances, and the Imperial Ministers seemed to approve of them; it was on condition that the former should give back whatever they had conquered in the late wars†. This the French said would be giving up the cause to their Adversaries, and they desired the LEGATE, and the English Agents, to find out some more friendly and practicable expedient. This was the result of the conference held on the last of *May*, and as neither party would make an abatement in what they demanded, nor resign any thing to their Adversary; on the 8th of *June*, the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, and the Count of *Montmorency* informed the French Ambassador at the English Court, that the conferences were broke up§.

8th June,
1555.

THE LEGATE's integrity in this nice conjuncture had been so acceptable to both parties, that, as the prospect of peace was not quite lost, the Emperor, during the remaining part of the year, frequently proposed it might be again renewed under his mediation: and, when a truce was agreed on, at the beginning of the following year, the French Ambassador, writing to his Court, expresses himself in these terms; "I have met with more equity from the English Government since the LEGATE is in the Ministry, than ever before:" and elsewhere he speaks in the most honourable manner of his abilities, his pacific disposition, and impartial proceedings towards the French nation||.

April,
1556.

* *Elizabeth of France* was proposed for *Don Carlos*, only Son of *Philip of Spain*; and *Margaret*, Sister of the French King, for the Prince of *Piedmont*.

† The French insisted on the restitution of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and the

County of *Ast*: and the Emperor on that of the States which go by the Name of the Three Bishopricks, to himself; and of *Savoy*, to the Duke of that title.

§ *Ambas. de Noailles*, t. 4, p. 343, &c.
|| *Ibid.* tom 5, pag. 335.

THE

THE first thing the LEGATE did on his return to *England*, was to send the Bishop of *St. Asaph* to *Rome*, to give the Pope an account, by word of mouth, of the state of Religion, and of the manner in which he had acquitted himself of the negotiation between *France* and the Emperor, with which the two last Popes had charged him*.

24th June,
1555.

ABOUT the same time the Governor of *Don Carlos*, *Philip's* son, having prevented the LEGATE by a very obliging letter, he thought it becoming his own high station, and the good opinion he had of the person to whom this charge was committed, to set before him, with freedom, the principal instructions he judged should be instilled into the mind of a young Prince; which, as they come so well recommended, must, I make no question, be acceptable to the Reader.—“The chief lesson, says he, which those, who would rightly command others, should learn, is to obey; for though this be necessary to every age and condition, it is more so to the Offspring of Princes than to any other Persons, as Kings themselves are wont to be led astray by nothing more frequently than an imagination, that the great privilege of Royalty consisted in being above controul.—This mistake, therefore, which they imbibe in early youth, was to be avoided, and they were to be made sensible, that no excellence could be expected from them, unless they shewed a greater docility and obedience than their Subjects, first, to the *Supreme Being*; in the next place, to the *Laws*, and to their Parents and Preceptors.—That they were to perform this on a very different principle from that on which persons of a servile disposition submit to the will of others; and what those do through fear, Princes are to perform from a love of rectitude, and of their own accord.—Next to these virtues, generosity and fortitude are what chiefly become a Sovereign, and if you illustrate the precepts by which your Royal Pupil may be

Honorato
Juan.

* *R. Poli*, Epist. pars 5^a, pag. 14.

instructed in the true knowledge of them, I had almost said, you had done your task. — What induced me, he adds, to write in this manner, is, that there is nothing in which Mankind is more universally deceived, than in their notions of these Virtues. — But if the young Prince, who was committed to Don Honorato's care, was trained up to the obedience he had mentioned, and to distinguish counterfeit fortitude and prudence from what was true, he knew whatever was requisite for the due discharge of the duties of Royalty; whereas, without this, tho' he possessed all the knowledge Books could convey, he would be unfit to govern others*.

Richmond,
8th July,
1555.

PHILIP had now been about a twelvemonth in *England*: the little progress he made in the good will of his new Subjects, and, which was a consequence of their dislike, the slender influence he had in the Councils of the Nation, made the following occasion of his departure not only welcome, on account of what he was called to, but of what he left. The Emperor *Charles V.* had, many years before, caused his Brother, *Ferdinand*, to be chosen King of the Romans, and he was now about to make over the Empire to him, and to relinquish his Spanish dominions to his Son; and *Philip* set sail for *Calais*, in order to meet his Father at *Brussels*, where the abdication was made with great solemnity. Before the Emperor put his Son in possession of so wide a domain, he discoursed him a considerable time, several hours of the day, on the Art of Government†; in which, as appears by his speech to the assembled States, before he resigned his Kingdoms, he thought himself a great Master‡. Such lessons are generally received with an indifference equal to the self-complacence with which they are given; but here the schooling was so entirely thrown away on the Pupil, that it operated the very reverse of what was intended: for whereas most of the Emperor's

* *R. Poli Epist.* pars 5^a, pag. 78.

† *Materem*, fol. 15.

‡ *Strada*, de Bello Belgico, Decas 1, l. 1, p. 7.

advice was directed to persuade moderation to his Son, to correct his own pride, and the haughty behaviour of the Spaniards towards the Flemings. *Philip* seemed to pique himself on the opposite behaviour.

THE King, before he left *England*, desired the LEGATE to be absent as seldom as possible from the Queen, who had signified, likewise, the same desire. He had appointed him Chief of the privy Council, and signified to the Queen, who had an implicit deference to all his inclinations, and in this was not led more by her Husband's choice than her own, that nothing which concerned the Government should be concluded without his knowledge and approbation. The LEGATE objected to this commission, as little suited to the spiritual character with which he was invested; and the Lord of *Noailles*, in a letter to his Court, written immediately on *Philip's* departure, says, "he modestly declined a Post which would have engaged him too much in the concerns of the World*." But their Majesties having signified their pleasure in terms which admitted of no reply, he submitted, on condition he might be at liberty to give the greater part of his time and attention to such functions as were proper to his state of life; And as a present instance of his deference to their will, he took up his apartment in the Palace at *Greenwich*, where the King had taken leave of the Queen, to whom, says the same Ambassador, his conversation was a very seasonable relief in the affliction she lay under for her Husband's absence†.

16th Sept.
1555.

ABOUT this time, the Pope began to manifest a malevolence to the LEGATE, which had long cankered in his breast; and he let him know his design of recalling him to *Rome*; but added, he would not resolve on this measure till the affair of the See of *Canterbury* was determined, and he was informed more thoroughly of the likelihood of bringing about a peace between *France* and

* *Negotiations de Noailles*, tom. 5, pag. 125. † *Ibid.*

the Emperor, of which he seemed very desirous*. On the LEGATE's signifying to the King the Pope's intentions, that Prince had replied, that he should with great regret be deprived of so able a Minister, and so worthy a Man; and that both he and the Queen would use all their interest with his Holiness, to prevail on him to lay aside any such thought: to which He returned this memorable answer, "that though the love of our Country was common to him and all mankind; and his personal attachment to *England* was attended with that peculiar endearment which a return from banishment to what we love, brings along with it, yet what retained him with such satisfaction, was not so much an affection to his native soil, as the tie of piety, justice, and clemency, by which their Majesties connected him to it, and without which he could neither be useful to his Country, nor his Country agreeable to him†.

PETER SOTO, soon after *Philip's* departure, visited the University of *Oxford*, and informed the LEGATE, he found Scholastic Divinity much neglected; that no public lessons were read in that Science; and he was of opinion it would be proper to explain *the Master of Sentences*§, and was willing to take this lesson on himself. The LEGATE informed the King he had communicated this proposal to the Chancellor, and they were both of opinion, it would be adviseable to appoint the lesson here mentioned to be read instead of the Hebrew, which, for many years

* *R. Poli* Epist. pars 5^a, pag. 42.

† *Etsi unicuique jucunda sit Patria, quæ mihi post longum exilium jucundissima, ut est, sic esse debet; tamen quod in eâ me libenti animo retinet, non tam est ejusdem Patriæ amor, quàm pietatis, justitiæ et clementiæ Majestatum Vestrarum vinculum, quod me cum Patria conjunxit; sine quo nec ego Patriæ utilis essem, nec illa mihi.* *Ibid.* p. 44.

§ *Peter*, a native of *Lombardy*, from whence he had his surname, was, first, Divinity Professor in the University of *Paris*; and in the year 1156, named to the Bishoprick of that City. — He was remarkable for the acuteness of his parts, and great reading. — A Theological Treatise, in which, as in a Common-place Book, the chief questions in that Science are ranged under their separate heads, gave him the title of *the Master of Sentences*.

had been little frequented*. But then it must be observed, that these two able men and great Scholars would have only one lesson of School Divinity be read, and not, as has been too universally the practice since, the greatest part of the time and application be given to it: which is much the same as if an Artist was to lay himself out in forming a mould without one thought of casting the Statue. For though School Divinity is, by no means, the whole of Ecclesiastical learning, nor even the chief part of it, yet, studied with discretion, it has great advantages, and the most eminent writers of the Church, a *Boffuet*, a *Bellarmino*, a *Peteau* made great account of, and excelled in it; and *Soto*, who here offered himself to be Professor, possessed in a great degree most branches of learning.—Whether *Peter of Lombardy* be a proper Standard of this branch of the Science in question, is a disquisition foreign to this History: so far, I think, may be advanced, that whatever he might have been in that age, he would not be so in the present.

HUMAN literature, at the time I am speaking of, was not less neglected than divine; and seems to have been falling off soon after it had been revived by *Latimer*, *Linacer*, and others, when young POLE was at the University. The Speech made a few years after to Queen *Elizabeth* on her visiting *Oxford*, is a boyish declamation; and the letter written to her on her safe arrival at her Palace, ridiculous bombast†, and is, moreover, vilified by a Pun‡. This

11th Aug.
1566.

Sentences.—This Work, in its kind, and for an age that knew nothing more useful and accurate, is very estimable, and the reputation it gained has caused several eminent personages to employ their parts in writing Commentaries on it, instead of exerting themselves in original Productions, which might have been more instructive to Students in Theology, and more agreeable to those who were advanced: to say nothing of the swarms of Writers of another class, who have brood-

ed over this Work with the same fecundity as Insects on the banks of the *Nile*.

* *R. Poli*, Epist. pars 5^a. pag. 47.

† They may be seen among other papers published with Sir *Thomas More's* life, by *T. Hearne*, 1716.

‡ Ergo tuam Celsitudinem, non dicam, ut Numen; dicam certè, ut Numam veneramur.

degeneracy

degeneracy was owing to the national Convulsions, under which our Country laboured through almost all that space, and with which the attainments of erudition have ever been incompatible. The great names which have since graced this celebrated Seat of Learning, and still continue to do honour to it, have caused this Chasm to be forgotten, and enrolled the Sons of *Ips* in the fairest Records of Literary Fame.

THIS regulation concerning Studies was one of the last actions of Bishop *Gardiner's* life. His health, for some time, had been on the decline; notwithstanding which he was present in Parliament a few days before he died, and spoke with such strength and presence of mind, that, as the LEGATE informs the King, "he seemed, on that occasion, not only to surpass himself in eloquence and prudence, and those other qualifications which constitute a Statesman; but to be so superior to his own bodily infirmities, as not to give any indication of them whilst he was supporting the cause of his Sovereign and his Country."—In the same letter, which gave *Philip* advice of this Minister's death, He signifies the loss which the Public sustained by this incident, and the great detriment which both Religion and Justice would suffer, was the place to be long vacated; and that a few days experience had let them into this knowledge.—That he wished it was not more difficult to indicate a proper person to succeed to the Office, as the King required him to do, than it was easy to see what sort of Magistrate the present circumstances stood in need of; for though there were several, of whom he thought well, yet the Post was so important, and the conjuncture so delicate, that he did not dare to recommend any one*.—He takes up the same subject in several other letters to the King; though he could not but be conscious of the jealousy which *Gardiner* had borne him; and, perhaps, of his machinations to obstruct his return from banishment; yet his mind was such a stranger to re-

* *R. Poli* Epist. pars 5^a, fol. 48.

venge, and the welfare of his Country so much above all private resentments; that he only considered him as a great Minister, whose loss was irreparable*. The dignity having been vacated some weeks, *Nicolas Heath*, Archbishop of *York*, at the LEGATE's recommendation, succeeded to it†.

1st Jan.
1556.

It will be expected I should not leave so celebrated a name as Bishop *Gardiner's*, without saying something of those many Articles which make up his character, on some of which he stands arraigned in the minds of the generality of the English of these days, and which, though a Panegyrist might gloss over, an Historian ought to relate.—It must be confessed, on the whole, that

* *R. Poli Epist.* pag. 52, et 54.

† This great Prelate and Magistrate was educated at *Corpus Christi* College in *Oxford*, and thence removed to *Clare* Hall in *Cambridge*. He took his degree of Doctor in Divinity in 1535: was Almoner to *Henry VIII.* and consecrated Bishop of *Rochester* four years after. He was translated to the See of *Worcester*, in 1543; but at *Edward's* accession, on refusing to concur with the Court measures concerning Religion, was committed to the Fleet prison, where he remained during that Prince's reign.—His temper and principles inclined him to moderation, and made him an Advocate for those who were persecuted for heresy, and against the revival of penal laws which concern it.—On *Mary's* accession, he was appointed Lord President of *Wales*, and Archbishop of *York*; and on *Gardiner's* death, High Chancellor.—He acknowledged the Princess *Elizabeth's* title to the crown, at her Sister's death, and met her at *Barnet*; and, with the other Bishops, made her an offer of his allegiance, on his knees. The See of *Canterbury* being vacant, it was *Dr. Heath's*

place to officiate in chief at the ceremony of the Coronation, which he would not do, as the Princess refused to maintain the Catholic Religion, of which she made profession during her Sister's life. All the other Bishops followed his example, till *Oglethorpe* of *Carlisle* was, with much entreaty, prevailed on to put the Crown on her head.—On the first meeting of the Parliament, he opened it by that memorable speech, of which mention has been made elsewhere; and being summoned to take the oath of Supremacy, on his refusal, was deprived of all his Dignities and committed.—He spent the remainder of his life at *Cobham* in *Surrey*, where he was a Prisoner at large, and had a small estate, which he was allowed to enjoy.—The Queen retained that regard for him, which superior merit seldom fails of extorting from an Adversary, and sometimes visited him.—He died in 1579, and is buried in the Chancel of the Parish Church of that place.

An original picture of this excellent Personage is preserved at *Weston* in *Warwickshire*, the seat of *William Sheldon*, Esq; to which family he was allied.

he

he had many failings, and some faults which cannot be excused: that he had great eloquence, and universal knowledge; abilities equal to each station, to which he gradually rose, and always filled, so as to attract the public observation. This will appear, if we neither form our opinion of him from eulogy or invective, but from facts; and take into the estimate the various temper of the Reigns he lived in, the nature and circumstances of the affairs he managed, and the means by which he acquired *Henry's* esteem; the cause of his disgrace under his Successor; and his behaviour when he was restored to favour and authority under *Mary* *.

* *Stephen Gardiner* was born in 1483, as appears from an original picture of him, by *Hans Holbein*, and was educated at Trinity Hall in *Cambridge*, where he distinguished himself by his diligence, ready parts, knowledge of the Greek tongue, and great elegance in speaking and writing Latin.—These qualifications recommended him, first, to Cardinal *Wolsey*, to whom he was Secretary; and afterwards, in 1528, when he was esteemed the ablest Civilian in *England*, to the King, who employed him at *Rome* to solicit the cause of the Divorce.—A long letter still, extant, (*Cartophylac. Reg. Biog. Brit.* p. 2093. *Burnet's Hist. of the Ref. among the Records* joined to vol. 2, p. 297.) shews the strength and politeness of his genius, and the purity of his language, which is but little antiquated at so great a distance of time.—He was, afterwards, appointed Secretary of State, (*Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII.*) and in 1531, consecrated Bishop of *Winchester*, and sat with *Cranmer*, when the latter pronounced the sentence of divorce between the King and *Catharine of Aragon*.—He took another courtly step in 1534, and maintained the King's Supremacy, by a discourse on true Obedience; and, during this reign, his pen had no other di-

rection than *Henry's* caprice thought fit to give it.—He appeared in a different character on *Edward's* accession, and was committed to prison for not complying with the innovations which then took place; but was set at liberty in 1547.—He was again committed to the Tower in the following year, and deprived of his Bishoprick, as the Protestant Historians grant, without sufficient cause. (*Biog. Brit. as above*, p. 2117, [FF] and continued Prisoner till that Prince's death.—Queen *Mary* restored him to the See of *Winchester*, declared him Chancellor and was crowned by him.—As to the chief objection under which his Character generally labours, of having been the Instigator of the cruelties which were inflicted on account of Religion both in *Henry's* and *Mary's* reigns, the case has been fairly stated by a very curious and impartial Writer of the Church of *England*, who seems to clear him, in great measure, of the imputation. (*Biog. Brit.* p. 2099, 2021.) He advised the Queen, on her entrance on Government, to Acts of lenity; to give back to several noble families, as the *Norfolk*, *Arundel*, *Stanhope*, and *Hungerford*, what the Crown had dispossessed them of; and to restore to blood the Earl of *Devonshire*, and the Son of

SOME exigencies of these times, of which I am about to speak, gave the LEGATE occasion to convene a National Synod, which he notified to *Philip*, in the following manner; "I have found it, Sir, very necessary, in quality of the Character, with which I am invested, to call a Synod, not only on account of the Reformation of the English Church, which is ardently desired by all good men, and can never be undertaken more seasonably than in the present juncture; but, also, that I may ratify what the Bishops and inferior Clergy have done in the Convocation they are accustomed to hold as often as the Parliament meets*. As this could not be duly summoned either by the Primate, who is in prison; or by the Chapter, whilst their Archbishop is neither condemned nor deposed; it was necessary this summons should be made by me, the LEGATE, in order to have the Decrees, one of which concerns the Free Gift, come out under proper authority.—I have been very particular with them concerning your Majesty's and the Queen's intention in giving up the Church Lands which were invested in the Crown, and of the disposition you would have made of them.—It was, likewise, agreed to draw up an Act of the surrender of the said lands, first fruits, and perpetual tythes; and release your Majesties from all

of the Duke of *Somerset*.—His attention to the spirit of the Constitution, in preference to every thing else, and particularly to Royal and Ministerial Power; and his care to exclude foreign influence from British Councils, except in the instance of the Queen's marriage with the Prince of *Spain*, can never be too much commended: what share he had in that match, and his jealousy of CARDINAL POLE, has been already related.—His abilities as Chancellor are attested, as we have seen, by a Voucher above all exception, the person whom he rivaled: and the Journals both of the Convocation

and Parliament, which are still preserved, are abundant proofs of his weight in these Assemblies, no less than *Noailles'* negotiations of that which he had in the Ministry. To these Monuments of the Magistrate and the Statesman, we are to add those of the Scholar and the Writer, which tho' neither many nor voluminous, sufficiently shew the Author's abilities.

* The whole transaction may be seen in *Reg. Convoc. et Excerpt. Heyliamii*; from whence it has been transcribed into *Conc. Mag. Brit. t. 4, p. 120.*

PART II.

R

pensions

11th Nov.
1555.

pensions which were paid out of the profits issuing from them.— This Bill was read to the Queen, and, by her order, communicated to some of the Council. They have since been with me, and assured me of their concurrence; and that it was their opinion, the Bill should be, first, brought into the Upper House*.”

IN the following letter he says, “ it was apprehended a difficulty would attend the Proposal in question, as it could not pass without their vote who were in possession of Church lands, whose number was very great: and, therefore, the Queen had discoursed several of both Houses on the subject, with so much religion and prudence, that the Bill having been read three days together in the Upper House, had been universally agreed to on the third reading†: and though it was, several days, warmly debated in the Lower, was, at length, carried by a much greater Majority than was expected‡.”

AT the same time he wrote to the Pope of what had been done in the Convocation, and a summary of the Decrees which were to be enacted in the approaching Synod.—He informs him also of his design to send proper persons to *Ireland*, which stood no less in need of a Reformation than *England*, and both expected and desired it§.

HITHERTO the LEGATE had only removed the obstacles to the great work he meditated; and had prepared the surface for a foundation on which he proposed to rear the structure of his Country's future happiness. The Representatives of the nation had abjured those tenets, into which they had either been seduced or compelled during the two last Reigns, and been received into the communion of the See of *Rome*.—The Abbey Lands, which was a capital obstacle to this reconciliation, being now secured to their Possessors, had quieted all fears of any future claim arising from this head. The LEGATE had also procured his commission

* *R. Poli Epist.* pars 5^a, p. 51. † *Ibid.* p. 53. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 56. § *Ibid.* p. 19.
should

should be enlarged; and had signified to all, the lenity they should be treated with on having recourse to him for absolution from those censures to which their transgressions had rendered them liable.—This measure, above all others, reconciled the minds of the People to a return to the ancient worship, when they beheld the Instrument not armed with terror, but inviting with the indulgence of a Parent, and the benevolence of a Friend.—He had the favour and confidence of his Sovereign, and the esteem of the whole English Nation, founded on his universal knowledge, the various trials by which his virtue had been exercised, and the approved merit of his past life: and it must be confessed, that the undertaking he was about to attempt, required all these advantages, and a mind as patient and inured to application as his own.

THESE dispositions, therefore, were the Prelude to the Reformation he had projected, and began in the following manner.—He obtained of the Queen a Warrant under the Great Seal, to hold a Synod; and, to avoid the after game and chicanery to which the ambiguities of the laws, or prerogative of the Crown might give occasion, he was authorized to hold, not only the present Synod, but any other hereafter, and to make what decrees he should think fit; and the Clergy have full power to meet, and confirm and obey such decrees, without any danger from any Statute whatsoever*.—There is, likewise, mention of a similar licence granted to the LEGATE, on his arrival in *England*, of which notice has been taken in its proper place.—The inconveniencies into which the Clergy had been betrayed by acknowledging *Wolfey's* legantine power, made these precautions advisable; which, as they guarded the Rights of the Crown inviolate, so they secured the Subject from the capriciousness or sinister views of the Sovereign.

THE LEGATE had now been about a twelvemonth in *England*, From Nov.
1554, to
Nov. 1555.

* *Reginaldi Poli*, fol. 6, a. *Conc. Mag. Brit.* vol. 4, pag. 130.

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE

and had considered the prevailing disorders which chiefly called for redress, and the remedies which were most likely to effect it; and recal, as far as human foresight could provide, and the temper of the times permit, the Discipline of the Church of *England* to the Canons and Rule of the Primitive Fathers. This is the Plan which is set forth in the Preface to the Acts of the Synod; and the Writers of our Country, and Foreigners have spoken of it in this light. The General Council of *Trent*, at the first Sessions of which he presided, contributed greatly to qualify him for all such concerns; and the love he bore his Country, whose present situation was, in great measure, his own work, engaged him to exert all his talents towards perfecting those beginnings, which however promising, stood in need of every assistance to bring them to their due state.

THE Convocation was yet sitting, and had been prorogued, when the LEGATE called the Synod I am about to speak of. The orders for calling it are directed to the Bishop of *London*, as Dean of the Metropolitan, who was to communicate them to the Bishops of the Provinces of *Canterbury* and *York*, and to others of the Clergy, who were accustomed to assist at such meetings, and were required to be present at this, which was to be held in the King's Chapel, *Westminster**.

THE Bishops assembled premise, that the Evils with which the Nation had been lately afflicted, were owing to their defection from the Catholic Church; and therefore it was but fitting the Council should begin by acknowledging the greatness of the divine mercy in recalling them to the ancient faith and worship; and that a grateful remembrance of this benefit may be perpetuated to the latest posterity, they appoint a collect of thanksgiving to be said, every day, in the public service of the Church; and the day, on which the Nation was reunited to the Catholic com-

* Ex Reg. *Bonner*, fol. 394. *Conc. Mag. Brit.* vol. 4, pag. 131.

munion,

munion, which was the festival of St. *Andrew*, to be kept yearly with particular solemnity.

THE second Decree observes, that the obedience due to the Roman Pontiff was no sooner laid aside, but the authority of Ecclesiastical Laws was abolished; false Teachers began to be countenanced, and books containing erroneous doctrine to be every where read: that, by these means, the people were corrupted in their faith, particularly as to what regarded the Sacraments; the regularity which became the Clergy, and whatever concerned Church discipline, was neglected. It was, therefore, the intention of the present Assembly to recall into use the former decrees of general and provincial Councils, and other Constitutions which have been canonically published in the Kingdom on these heads, and they were to have the same weight as before the Schism. And whereas *Otho* and *Ottobonus*, formerly Legates and Archbishops of *Canterbury*, had drawn up what seemed chiefly necessary to preserve the faith and morals of the English Clergy and Laity; all who have care of souls, besides the holy Scripture, and other books belonging to their charge, are commanded to have these Constitutions, to be conversant in them, and see that those committed to their care be taught what they ought to know of them.

THE reading, or importing heretical Books is condemned; and those who do either, or print, or retain such writings, are declared liable to the censures provided in such cases.—But, as these Regulations were in such negative or general terms as not to descend to any detail of what doctrines the People were to receive, what to shun; and as the late errors chiefly regarded the Supreme Pastor of the Church, and the Sacraments, the LEGATE proposes as a complete rule of belief on these Articles, what had been defined in the Council of *Florence*, under *Innocent IV.*—The Decrees of this Council are here set down, with the moral inferences which Christians should draw from the doctrinal parts;
the

the dispositions, with which the Sacraments are to be received, and the proper and peculiar effects of each of them; in what manner they are to be administered; and who is the Minister.—To which the LEGATE adds some regulations concerning the decent keeping of the holy Eucharist in Churches, which custom, he says, had been totally banished through the injury of the late times; and also of celebrating the feast of the Dedication of Churches, which was observed, throughout *England*, on the first *Sunday of October*.

AAs, ch.
xx. v. 28.

THE LEGATE then remarks, that the intended Reformation ought to take its beginning from those who have the care of others; amongst whom this great abuse too generally prevailed, that instead of residing in the Churches, whose care they had undertaken, they delivered them over to Hirelings. That this disorder may no longer take place, he exhorts all such persons, that “attending to themselves, and to all the Flock, over which the Holy Ghost had placed them, to feed the Church of God, which he has purchased with his own blood,” and for which they were to be accountable, they would disengage themselves from worldly concerns; and, as the same Apostle admonishes, extend their watchfulness to every branch of their duty so as to fill up the measure of the whole.—He then goes on to represent the almost universal disorder of dignified Clergymen, who seemed only to regard the temporal emoluments of their benefices, without answering any of the purposes for which they were instituted; and the abuse of Pluralities, which make personal Residence impracticable; and having mentioned the duty of Residence, he appoints the penalties to which those who do not comply with it, are to be subject.

BUT as a mere bodily residence either of Bishops, or of the inferior Clergy, who had care of souls, unless they complied with the Pastoral functions, the chief of which consisted in preaching the word of God, was of little effect; the LEGATE observes how
much

much this duty was neglected, whilst those who were charged with it, gave themselves up to other concerns. He reminds them of the maxim and example of the Apostles, who said, "it was not fitting, they should leave the preaching of the Gospel, and serve Tables," although that office, as it was in the relief of the Poor, was highly agreeable to piety.—All Prelates, therefore, are enjoined to perform this duty; and, when they are lawfully hindered, to appoint proper persons to do it in their stead.—The same conduct is required of Rectors, Vicars, and whoever has the care of Souls; and the duty was to be performed at least on *Sundays* and other *Festivals*.

*Acts, ch.
vi. v. 2.*

He admonishes them, that in order to acquit themselves of this obligation, it was not enough to preach in public, unless the Pastor exhort and instruct in private those who err in faith, or transgress against morality, and encourage such as are faultless in both.—He forbids all persons to preach, but such as are duly qualified and approved of by the Bishop: and as the undue exercise of this function had given occasion to many disorders, the Bishops are commanded to instruct carefully those whom they entrust with this weighty ministry, both as to the subjects they are to treat, and the method of treating them.—That the People were, in the first place, to be exhorted to repentance, which was so much more necessary as we have more grievously offended, and received, in our late deliverance from a pernicious schism, so signal an instance of divine mercy.—In the next place, they are to warn their Audience against those errors and disorders which chiefly prevailed in the doctrine and manners of the People during this time of calamity, and with which the greater part of the Nation was still infected.—There being a great scarcity of Preachers, lest the People should be totally deprived of so needful a support as the word of God, Homilies were to be set forth, which those, who were not otherwise qualified, were to read in a clear and audible manner to their several Congregations.

THESE

THESE Homilies, as we learn from a Scheme of them found among Archbishop *Parker's* papers, were to have been divided into four Books : the first was to treat of the controverted points in Religion, and whatever could preserve the People from error ; the second to contain the exposition of the Creed and Commandments, the Lord's prayer, the Salutation of the Blessed Virgin and the Sacraments ; the third was adapted to the Sundays, the Festival, and Saints days throughout the year, and was to explain the Epistles and Gospels read on those occasions ; the fourth treated of Virtues and Vices, and of the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church.* A little reflection is sufficient to shew the fulness of this plan, and the propriety of its distribution.

THE LEGATE here applies to the present state of his Country, what our Redeemer said of *Judea* and the whole World, " that the Harvest was great, but the Workmen few, and, therefore, the Lord of the Harvest was to be entreated to send Workmen into his Harvest : " and, in the mean time, the Bishops were to appoint persons to visit all parts of their Dioceses that none might be deprived of the assistance they stood in need of.— All Parish Priests are likewise required on Sundays, at least, and Festivals, and at a time, when they are not taken up with the divine service, to cause the Children of their respective Parishes to meet in the Church and to instruct them in the first rudiments of the Christian Religion, in piety and obedience to the laws of God, and to their Parents.

EXAMPLE, continues the LEGATE, adds great weight to what we say, and is in itself the most persuasive of all sermons : those, therefore, who are placed over others, are to be careful to excell them in every laudable commendation, particularly in that which *St. Paul* requires in Bishops, the regularity of their own Household : Wherefore, those who are placed in this sacred station are

* Ex. M. S. Col. C. C. Cant.

most earnestly requested to live, as the same Apostle expresses himself, soberly, chastly, and piously, that their example may be to others a lesson of Religion and good Discipline.—They are to avoid all pomp and superfluity in their dress, equipage and furniture; their table is to be frugal, and recommended by hospitality, charity, and Christian discourse: and the mean to be observed in each of these Articles is prescribed.—That this frugality may have no appearance of Avarice, whatever is spared by it, as *St. Gregory*, Pope, wrote to our Apostle, *St. Austin*, is to be laid out in the relief of the necessitous, the education of youth, and other works of piety, to the glory of God, the advantage of our Neighbour, and the edification of All.—They were to be Fathers of the indigent, of Orphans and Widows, and the Protectors of the oppressed; to be assiduous in the study of the holy Scriptures, and the discharge of all Episcopal duties; to refrain from worldly concerns, and whatever the wisdom of the Canons has interdicted the Clergy, and in every thing become blameless Patterns to their Flock.—The same, in proportion is required of the inferior Clergy, it being but reasonable that the members should conform to their head; and that none might be ignorant of what it so much imported every one to know, these injunctions were to be abridged, and published so as to come to every one's knowledge.

THE Synod then descends to a disorder, which they represent as almost universal; the marriage of Religious Persons, of Priests, and of the other orders of the Clergy, and they condemn such contracts as unlawful and sacrilegious, and command a separation to persons thus engaged.—Great numbers likewise of the Clergy, were so forgetful of decency, no less than of the other obligations of their profession, as not to wear the Clerical tonsure and habit, nor to perform the Divine Office, or apply themselves to learning, or to any thing else that became them; but were taken up in worldly business, and in vile and disreputable employments.—

PART II.

S

These,

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE

These, therefore, were to be reduced to order, as to the above-mentioned Articles; and the Refractory were to be compelled to amendment by any remedy which the Law admits; as far as to deprive them of their benefices.

NEXT to preaching the divine Word, no duty was more important than a careful and accurate attention in conferring Holy Orders; the Apostle having given Bishops this charge, *lay thy Hands hastily on nobody*: and the LEGATE observes, that from want of due regard to a concern of such moment, the Clergy lay under great contempt, and the divine Worship was much disregarded.—He enjoins Bishops, therefore, with the approbation of the Synod, to take all proper pains in acquitting themselves of so essential a part of their charge; that they ordain those of their own Diocese; but if it were necessary to send them to be ordained elsewhere, they were to examine the Persons, and be assured of their fitness for the sacred Ministry: that they were not to imagine they had satisfied their obligation, if they committed this examination to others, who would perform the task in a careless manner, and be little solicitous concerning the character of the Candidate.—If the number of those who are to receive Holy Orders be so great as to make the assistance of others necessary; they are to call in pious and learned Personages, on whose diligence they can rely.

In these Examinations, the following Articles were particular to be attended to: that those, who presented themselves, were clear of all errors in Faith; that they were born in lawful wedlock, and had attained the age required by the Canons; that they were free from any of those blemishes, which give an exclusion from the Ministry; that their life and conversation was laudable, and their learning suited to the Degree into which they were to be initiated.—Great notice was to be taken, if they were provided of a maintenance sufficient to exempt them from want, which brought a disgrace on the Priesthood; and exposed them to the
impious

impious and detestable practice of making the holy Sacrifice of the Mass, venal: and All were to be exhorted not to enter into holy Orders on selfish and mercenary views, but from a desire of honouring JESUS CHRIST.—The LEGATE here enumerates several cautions which would greatly contribute to the observance of what he had enjoined in the foregoing Article; and concludes, that although the same scrutiny was not required in the collation of the inferior Orders, yet a proportionable regard was to be had to every caution already mentioned.

THE LEGATE having regulated, in this manner, what concerns the manners of the Clergy, comes to the collation of Ecclesiastical Benefices, which he restrains to such Persons as are both willing and able to perform the Office on account of which the Benefice is conferred. He cites the example of the Apostles, who being to choose seven Deacons, and having assembled the Disciples, spake to them in the following manner; “Brethren, look ye out among you seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, whom we may appoint over this business;” and he entreats all Bishops, whose peculiar department this was, to lay aside human respects and affection, and confer the Benefices of the Church, those especially to which the Pastoral care was annexed, to the best qualified and most deserving, and have before their eyes His service only whose Delegates they were.

Acts, ch. vi.

I MUST here ask the Reader's leave to interrupt the account of the Council, by an instance which the LEGATE gave of the exactness with which he practised what he prescribed to others: for having a natural Brother, who during *Henry's* reign, had been Archdeacon of *Derby*, He conferred no higher dignity on him, till two years after his return to *England*, and then only procured for him the See of *Peterborough*, which was one of the least provided for of the Bishopricks; and looked on as a very inconsiderable Preferment, in comparison of what the public voice had called him to, on whom it was collated.

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE

THE sixth Decree of the Council is very particular as to the qualifications which had only been mentioned in general terms in the foregoing Article; and observes, that the Apostle's precept to Bishops of *not laying on their hands rashly*, regarded no less the institution of Ministers, than their ordination; and, therefore, that Benefices, particularly those which have the care of others annexed to them, are not to be conferred but after a very exact scrutiny.—That the same conditions as to sound doctrine, full age, gravity of manners, and learning, were to take place here, as in the other case. It was likewise to be seen, if the Candidate had received the Order necessary for the discharge of the duties of the Benefice; if he seemed to be led by avarice, ambition, or other carnal views: he was likewise to have the testimony of a good life from creditable witnesses; and to be admonished by the Collator of the office and burden he had taken on himself.

THE LEGATE then proceeds to Benefices, which require personal residence; and, at length, concludes, that Bishops were to receive from the Heads of Colleges and Universities, the names of such, as on account of their learning and manners, were qualified for benefices; that, on the first vacancy, they might not be at a loss on whom to confer them; and to inquire after such learned and pious personages, as might be assistant to themselves in the government of their Dioceses.—As it was very prejudicial to Churches to be long without a Pastor, the Synod exhorts all Bishops to supply immediately such Benefices as belong to their collation without waiting the term, within which it is fixed by the Canons; and, in the mean time, to provide for the exigencies of the People: and the orders here made are addressed to all persons who have a right of conferring Ecclesiastical benefices, by what title soever this privilege is enjoyed.

THE LEGATE then provides against the promise of benefices before they are vacant; and the Council of the *Lateran* having taken

taken all necessary caution to prevent this abuse, which was very common in *England*, and the cause of much Evil, the Parties concerned are referred to the Canons there enacted for the extirpation of this disorder. This decree is followed by another which relates to Simony, which the LEGATE observes to have taken deep root in the late Reigns. He sets forth the heinousness of this crime, in general; enters on a detail of the various ways by which it may be committed; appoints penalties for the several divisions of it; and, lastly, prescribes the form of an Oath which every one, who was presented to a Benefice, was to take.

THE Churches throughout the Kingdom had suffered so much in the dilapidations of *Henry* and *Edward*, that it was but reasonable to consult the security of what had escaped such a general plunder; or had been restored by the Queen's piety and munificence. In order to effect this, the LEGATE renews the Constitution of *Paul II.* against alienating Church Lands, and whatever had been decreed on that head by general or particular Synods of this Realm; and, as a further means to obtain this end, all Governors or Administrators of Religious places, and Clergymen, by whatever title they possess Church benefices, are commanded, within six months after the publication of these Constitutions, to make an Inventory of all the moveable and immoveable goods, rights, claims, actions, or debts appertaining to the Churches, or other places they hold; which Inventory is to be attested by creditable Witnesses, and renewed every third year, and as often as they devolve to a new Possessor. One of the two copies, which were to be made of this, was to be deposited in the Church, or place, to which the benefice belonged; the other, if the Church was a Metropolitan, was to be deposited with the Chapter: if a Cathedral, with the Metropolitan; if a private Church, or pious Foundation, with the Bishop.—The Metropolitans and other Ordinaries are, moreover, in their visitations required to have these Inventories with them, and to see if any thing

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE

thing was wanting; in which case, they were to endeavour to recover it, and punish those by whose neglect the damage had happened.—“But as to those Ecclesiastical possessions, which were formerly taken from the Church, and confirmed, by the holy See, to the present Owners, they are excepted from this Decree, and it is our will, says the LEGATE, that they should, in no ways, be affected by it.”

As the good order and discipline of a National Church seems, in great measure, to depend on the observance of the following Constitution, I shall give it the Reader in a greater detail than the former. The LEGATE begins it by observing, that the present scarcity of Clergymen, such especially to whom the care of Churches could be committed, or who were qualified to perform the sacred functions, made it necessary to provide against so great an inconvenience: and no means seemed more suited to this end, than that there should be, in each Cathedral, a Nursery for the raising future Ministers. The Synod, therefore, orders, that each of these Churches should, in proportion to its income and extent of jurisdiction, maintain a certain number of Youth; on which head they make the following regulations: That those who are admitted into these Seminaries, should be eleven or twelve years old; have learnt to read and write, and given some indication of a disposition to betake themselves to the Church, and of an aptitude to the sacred ministry.—The LEGATE would have this choice made chiefly out of the Poor, though not so as to have others excluded, provided they give hopes of answering the end of the institution.—They were, first, to be instructed in the Grammar; and, then, being adopted into the Metropolitan or Cathedral, were to be under the care of the Chancellor of the Church, or some grave and learned Person, and be brought up in that learning and discipline which became the state they were designed for.—Of these there were to be two Classes; one of the more advanced in age and literature, who were to be

be *Acolyths**, and besides their table and a gown, were to have a certain yearly stipend; the other class of the less advanced, who were only to have their table and a gown. Each Class was to wear the Clerical tonsure and dress, and, at seasonable times, assist at the Church Office.—The *Acolyths*, when they were of a proper age, and had made a sufficient progress in virtue and learning, were to receive holy Orders, and serve the Church in whatever capacity the Bishop and Chapter should think fit; who were, likewise, to take care that each one was provided for according to his merit: And those of the second Class, who in age, learning, and virtue, followed the *Acolyths* thus promoted, were to succeed to their place.—Besides the Youth of the Seminary, other Children of the City and Diocese were to be admitted to the Grammar School, and the other opportunities of improvement, provided they had been liberally educated and behaved becomingly; and as to dress, and their manner of living, they were to be on the same footing as those who were supported by the Church; and the same method of supplying the Clergy out of them to be observed as with the others.

It was necessary that a certain temporary provision should be made for the maintainance of the Youth, and the salary of the Masters, till such time as a fixed allowance could be appropriated from benefices assigned for these purposes: wherefore the Synod orders all Bishops, and others who have a Benefice amounting to the yearly value of twenty pounds, to set aside a fortieth part of the clear profit of the produce to this use; and, though, as the Synod remarks, they were already very heavily taxed, yet there could be no doubt but their zeal for Religion, and the regard they had for the Church, which was much deformed through want of proper Ministers, would cause them chearfully to submit to this additional burden.

* One of the lowest Orders in the Church.

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE

THE Bishop, the Dean and Chapter were to superintend this School, and to take care that the appointments for its subsistence were duly paid; and as many other regulations were necessary, they would be made in the next Convocation.—But as nothing could contribute more to the sound doctrine and good manners of the Youth, than that their Instructors should be no less recommendable for these qualifications than for learning, the LEGATE wills that no Schoolmaster be appointed, or any one allowed to teach, any where, or on any pretence, unless he be first examined and approved of by the Ordinary, and by him informed of those books he is to read in the School, to train up the Youth both in learning and virtue; and whoever had accepted the charge, and did not comply with this Statute, was liable to excommunication, and be excluded, three years, from teaching.—The doctrine, manners, and learning of those who were already put over Schools, was carefully to be looked into, and if they were such as are here required, they were to be continued, and to be informed of the present Regulations: if not, to be removed, and proper persons substituted in their place.

THE Visitation of Churches being of great use to correct vice and abuses, to establish good manners, and enforce the practice of Ecclesiastical Laws; Bishops and other Ordinaries are commanded to visit their Dioceses, and places committed to their charge, every three years, according to the ancient custom of this Kingdom; and, if they are lawfully hindered, to appoint proper persons to do it. This Visitation is to be performed with all the zeal that goodness and charity can inspire.—The Visitors are admonished, in the first place, to take only those persons with them, of whose assistance they stand in absolute need, and whose example may be profitable to others. They are to be satisfied with frugal entertainment, and to make no longer stay than was necessary, not to waste their time to no purpose, and be a charge to those with whom they were.—The Visitation was

to

to be made in the following manner: the City was, first, to be visited; then the Diocese, unless some peculiar case required the order to be changed. In the City, the Visitation was to begin from the Cathedral, and be continued through all the Collegiate and Parish Churches; at which not only the Parish Priests, but whatever Clergymen inhabited the Parish, were to be present.—The Schools, likewise, and Booksellers Shops, and, lastly, the Hospitals were to be carefully inspected.

IN the Visitation, the Bishops were to preach and confirm: if any of the Diocese had incurred criminal cases, which are reserved to their cognizance, they were to absolve them on sufficient signs of repentance, and to invite All, who were thus unhappily engaged, with a paternal affection.—Some persons of known integrity, and who were well informed of the manners both of the Ecclesiastics and Laity, were required to make their deposition on this article.

WITH respect to Parish Churches, the following particulars were to be observed: Whether the Baptismal Water, the holy Oils, and the Eucharist were kept in a decent and safe place, renewed at proper times, and rightly administered: if the blessed Sacrament of our Lord's body was carried to the Sick with the customary marks of respect: if marriages were contracted lawfully, in the Church, and after the banns had been published, and at permitted seasons: if the Parish Priest had a register with the names of those who were baptised, of the Sponsors, of the married, and the dead.—The unconsecrated Altars were to receive that holy rite; and if any had been profaned, they were to be purified: every thing in the Church was to be clean, decent, and safe: the Church-yard was to be so inclosed that Cattle could not enter it, nor be exposed to any other filth: if the Church, the Quire, the Belfry, the Sacristy or Parsonage house stood in need of repair, those to whom it belonged were to do it, according to the income of the Church or Parish: inquiry was to be made if

PART II.

T

nothing

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE

nothing was wanting for the ministry of the Altar and the Church service, as Chalices, Patens, Corporal linnens, Vestments, Books, and the like: if Mass, and other divine Offices were celebrated, not only at proper times, and according to the approved rites of the Church, but also with reverence and devotion; if there was one Clerk, at least, to assist at the holy Sacrifice, in a decent surplice: if the Books, the Records, and other Writings belonging to the Church, were carefully kept.

THE above-mentioned Articles having been looked into; the next inquiry was to be made concerning the Ministers of the Church, and the rest of the Clergy; whether they had been duly ordained, and were appointed for such functions as suited their degree: on what title they held their livings or benefices; if they had intruded themselves, or held such as were incompatible; if they resided, and satisfied their duty in the administration of the Sacraments, and each part of the divine service; if they left their own, to serve other Churches, particularly on holidays; if they were diligent in instructing the People, and teaching the Children the first rudiments of the Christian Doctrine; and had such books as were proper for these and the other obligations of a Parish Priest.—The Examination was to extend to their life, manners, dress, conversation, and family: if they frequented houses of public entertainment, or evil fame, or followed any unbecoming employment: if they took care of the goods and rights of the Church, and succoured the Necessitous: whether they were peaceable, and careful to reconcile such as were at variance.

THE Visitation was, at length, to come down to the People, and information to be taken, whether there were any who held erroneous opinions, who did not confess themselves, who were Usurers, Concubinarians, or who lived in enmity, or any notorious and habitual disorder: if Lent, with the other fasts and festivals, and the like laudable institutions of the Church, were observed; and in case of licence obtained to use flesh meat, and
other

other dispensations, if a true and sufficient cause had been alleged; and whether pious Legacies had been complied with.—Cognizance was to be taken of the behaviour of the People at divine service, particularly in time of Mass, at which they were to assist reverently from the beginning to the end; and nothing disrespectful, or that could disturb the attention of the Congregation, was to be allowed during that sacred action. A like information was to be had of the instruction which Masters of families gave their Children, and the care they took of their Household.

THE government of Hospitals was to be inspected; and care taken that good order was observed in such places, and the revenues belonging to them employed to the relief of the Poor. The same care was to be taken of Schools, as to the behaviour of the Masters, and the books they explained: and no one, as the Synod had decreed by a Statute already mentioned, was to be admitted to teach, unless he was approved of by the Bishop. If any Master was found to be unfit, he was to be removed. It was, likewise, to be observed, if Booksellers kept by them, or sold heretical, or other forbidden books.

WHERE there were Collegiate Churches and Chapters, information was to be taken if the Prebendaries, and those in dignity satisfied their obligation, as well in a due and devout performance of the divine service, as in every other branch of duty.

WHEN these things are done, the Visitor is to commend or reprove, as he sees occasion; and to employ for correction, if it be necessary, the censures of the Church, and other means of redress which the Law furnishes; and to conclude the whole with a general exhortation to every one to comply with what their respective stations require of them.

THERE are some Directions, in the Synod, which regard the Visitation made by the Metropolitans of the Provinces under their jurisdiction; and the LEGATE refers them, in general, to the Constitution of Innocent IV. on that head; but, amongst other

Articles, he specifies the following: to take information whether the Bishops reside in their Dioceses, and preach and live as becomes them: how they behave in conferring holy Orders, and Benefices; in appointing Ghostly Fathers, and correcting disorders; in the Visitation of their Diocese, and whatever regards the Episcopal charge and jurisdiction, and the administration both of spiritual and temporal concerns: whether they observe the Canons of the universal Church, and the Ecclesiastical Institutions of this Realm: and if any thing be so remarkably faulty in any of these particulars, as to require a reformation, they are to effect it; if that cannot be done, they are to refer the case to a Provincial Synod; but, if a still higher authority be necessary, they are to have recourse to the Holy See.

ARCHDEACONS are, in like manner, to visit the districts committed to their care, according to the form prescribed above; and to refer to the Bishops matters of greater moment, to which they find their own authority unequal; they were to bring into practice what had been enacted in the Episcopal Visitation, and take information of the causes which were a hindrance to it; and because much depended on them, as they were the Bishop's representatives, they are referred to what two former Legates and Primates of *England*, *Otho* and *Othobonus*, had prescribed on this matter.

LASTLY, in order that Prelates may be at liberty to execute, notwithstanding any appeal or contrary custom, whatever was needful for the reformation of the People, the LEGATE renews what *Innocent III.* had ordered, in a general Council, on this head, and commands it to be observed by All *.

* There are two different Editions of the Statutes of this National Synod: one of which is preserved in the *Cotton* and *Cambridge* Libraries, and contains them as they were originally proposed to the English Clergy, under the title of *Legantine Constitutions of CARDINAL POLE*. Ex M. S. Cott. Cleop. F. 2, fol. 72, col-

lat. cum M. S. Synodal. in Coll. Corp. *Christi, Cantab.*

The other Edition, which is fuller and more accurate, was published at *Rome*, four years after the CARDINAL's death, under the title of *The Reformation of England*. The edition which the Author made use of, was printed from the Roman

I HAVE only given the heads of the Decrees of this Synod, as the Reader, who desires a greater detail than the Plan of this Work would admit, may have recourse to the Original.—A slender acquaintance with the spirit and discipline of Christianity, in those times when it most flourished, will shew the justness of the observation, which I have quoted at the beginning of this Article, that the LEGATE's design was to bring the frame of the English Church as near, as the times could bear, to primitive practice.—The resemblance, likewise, of the Decrees here made, to those which the General Council of *Trent* made on the same matters, is very remarkable. Nor can it be replied, that the LEGATE adopted what had been already ordained in that celebrated Assembly; because whatever has any affinity to the statutes of the Synod, was not regulated till the last Sessions of the Council, which were held some years after the CARDINAL's death.—But it is not improbable, that several of the Fathers, who assisted at them, were acquainted with what he had ordered on matters which they were to regulate; and that they prescribed to the whole Christian world, what he had approved of for one national Church.—This observation has no where greater force, than in what regards the establishment of Seminaries for the education of the Clergy: an Institution which the Fathers judged of such importance, that several of them, as has been related, at the close of the Council, said, that all their pains would have been well employed, had this purpose alone been gained.

THE small number of Articles, to which the LEGATE reduced a national Reformation, and the plainness and simplicity with which they are laid down, shew the skilfulness of the hand that planned the design, no less than the propriety with which the choice is made.—The whole is comprised in twelve Decrees,

man Copy, and published at *Venice*, by *Ziletti*, in 1564.—The Acts of this Sy-

nod have, since, been inserted into the Collection of the Councils.

which

which are addressed to the Clergy, and designed to form them to a regularity becoming the Ministry they were intrusted with. He very well knew, was this point carried, the Reformation of the whole Nation would soon be the fruit of it: for the generality of mankind having neither opportunity nor disposition to enter very far into the merits of the cause of Religion, take their impression, both as to belief and practice, from the character of those who are appointed to be their Guides.—The Christian moderation which appears through these Statutes, is a further recommendation of him who penned them. There is no order, nor the least intimation given to the Bishops or Parochial Clergy, to persecute others; but to amend themselves; and I should do Dr. Burnet an injury, not to acknowledge this remark to be his.

Hist. Ref.
part 2,
pag. 326.

SEVERAL other of the LEGATE'S Synodical Decrees, and such like Regulations, are come down to us; but as they throw no further light on his character, or on the state of the Nation as it stood related to him, it would be foreign to this work to swell it with them*.

* Articles to be proposed to married Priests. *Anth. Harmer, Specimen of Errors, pag. 178.*

Acts of a Provincial Synod of Canterbury.

Commission and Instruction given to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, as to Dispensations, Absolutions, &c. *Ibid. pag. 182.* and *Strype's life of Cranmer, App. pag. 187.*

The like, granted to the Parochial Clergy, and others. *Harmer.*

Injunctions sent in English to the Bishop of Gloucester, the LEGATE'S Delegate in that Diocese: they contain seventeen Articles which regard the Clergy, and as many the Laity, and are penned with the same goodness and discernment as the Legantine Constitutions. Ex Ap-

pend. *Hist. Rob. de Avesbury, edit. Tho. Hearne, pag. 376.*

A Regulation sent to all the Bishops, concerning the due use of Confession, choice of Ghostly Fathers, and other points of Discipline; and Regulations about money deposited with Bishops. *Ex Reg. Turvenville, Exon. fol. 18.*

Concerning Processions. *Ex R. Pole, fol. 27, a.*

These Documents are collected in the 4th vol. *Conc. Mag. Brit. by Wilkins, from pag. 109, to pag. 178.*

General Notes that were written unto all Byshopes, and from them to be certified to my Lord CARDINAL POLE'S Grace: M. S. now in the possession of Mr. Joseph Sandford, of Balliol College.

THE

THE Synod was summoned on the 11th of November, and 1555. the matter having been thoroughly weighed before the meeting, the Bishops and Clergy, who were assembled, found little more to do, than to subscribe to what had been regulated with so much wisdom. But though the LEGATE's hand had directed the planning of the whole, reduced it to one character and colouring, and went over the several parts, and gave to each its finishing, yet he was desirous the Public should receive this pledge of his solicitude for their welfare, under the authority of a National Synod, no less than his own.

A FEW days after the Council ended, the LEGATE wrote to the King, that the Queen was desirous the People should be immediately informed of the Decree made for an anniversary thanksgiving for the Nation's late reconciliation. "I went, says he, on the first Sunday of Advent to St. Peter's, accompanied by the Bishops and the whole body of the Nobility, who, on account of the Parliament, are now in Town; and was received, in quality of LEGATE, as the custom is, by the Archbishop of York, and a great number of Ecclesiastics and of the People, with all the Clergy of that Church. One of the Queen's Chaplains, a man of learning and probity, set forth, in a very apposite discourse, the greatness of the benefit which a good God has been pleased, through your Majesties means, to confer on this Kingdom: and several are of opinion, that the readiness which the Nobility shewed to assist at the solemn Mass and Procession which were performed on this occasion, has contributed as much towards confirming the minds of the People in the ancient doctrine, as all the Sermons of last year*."—From this, and some other passages I have cited out of the Acts of the Synod, it appears, that though the Roman Catholic was the Religion established by Law, and which the Nation had received in the per-

* R. Poli Epist. pars 5^a, pag. 55.

THE HISTORY OF THE LIEF

sons of its Sovereign and Representatives, it was far from being the persuasion of all the People, whose tenets, in general, are represented by the LEGATE, as erroneous as their manners were corrupt: And when, in the Synodical Statutes, he speaks of the Clergy, it is, every where, with such disparagement, as plainly indicates the little assistance which was to be expected either from the doctrine or example of such Ministers.—This, in some measure, accounts for the quick defection from what was now professed, which happened, two years after, under Queen *Elizabeth*, when, though all the Bishops, one excepted, chose to be deprived of their Sees, rather than conform to the changes which then took place; and Lord Viscount *Montacute*, in the upper House, and Mr. *Atkins* in the lower, and a few others, behaved with the like constancy: yet both Lords and Commons came unanimously into the measures of that Princess, in the very first Parliament of her Reign.

Sir Amb.
Browne.

S E C T.

S E C T. X.
The LEGATE endeavours to reclaim Cranmer, under sentence of death, from his errors.

His Lenity towards those who had left the communion of the See of Rome.

He is consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury; and chosen Chancellor of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

Anecdotes of his private life.

THE following year was signalized by a punishment, in the particulars of which, and in the character of the Person, on whom it was inflicted, this History, for reasons which the narrative will bring me to, is sufficiently interested to require I should be circumstantial on both these Heads.—*Thomas Cranmer*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, had been one of the chief promoters of *Henry's* separation from *Catharine of Aragon*, Mother to the Queen; and had, moreover, pronounced the sentence of the Divorce.—He had subscribed, in the latter part of *Edward's* reign, to the change of the Settlement made by Parliament, and set aside the Princesses *Mary* and *Elizabeth* in favour of the House of *Sussex*; and, on that young Prince's decease, was one of those who put up Lady *Jane's* title, and his name was at the head of that reasonable and reproachful declaration, in which the legitimacy of his Sovereign's birth was denied, and she commanded to desist from any pretensions to the Crown and retire to a private life; and he had aggravated these misdemeanors by spreading seditious libels, and raising tumults.

PART II.

U

the

the Privy Council, he was committed, in the beginning of *September*, 1553, to the Tower, to remain there, or be referred to Justice, according to the Queen's pleasure*." Being brought to his Trial on the third of *November* following, he pleaded guilty to the Indictment, and submitted himself to the Queen's mercy; on which he was attainted of high Treason, and the sentence confirmed by Act of Parliament†. Though the See of *Canterbury* by this Attainder was become void in Law, it was not yet declared vacated; and *Cranmer*, till he was degraded, was considered as Archbishop: the Revenues only were sequestered, and the Criminal sent back to the Tower.

THE personal injury which each of these offences included was more than enough to stir up all the resentment of a Woman and a Queen; and yet it is probable the execution of this sentence would not have taken place, had not *Mary* been more disposed to avenge the wrongs done to the Religion she professed, than the treason committed against herself: for of so many, who had opposed her title at the beginning of her Reign, we have already seen how few were put to death.

APRIL 1554. A PUBLIC disputation between the Catholic and Protestant Divines being held, soon after, at *Oxford*, *Cranmer*, by the Queen's Warrant, was removed from the Tower to that City, in order to be present at it. Here he denied the real and corporal presence of CHRIST's body in the holy Eucharist, and asserted several other tenets which he had before maintained, and were contrary to the Catholic doctrine. Two days after the Conferences were ended, he was required by Dr. *Wylson*, and the other Deputies of the Convocation, who presided at them, to abjure his errors, and subscribe to the Catholic Faith; and on refusal, was unanimously declared to be a Heretic, and sent back to prison, where he remained till his Execution, which was put off for two years.

20th April.

* *Collin's Eccles. Hist.* vol. 2, b. 5, p. 347. † *Anno 1^o Mar.* ch. 16.

DURING

DURING his confinement the LEGATE made repeated essays to recall him to the paths of truth; and, on the promises and hopes he gave, had obtained frequent respites of his execution, which was resolved, it seems, though the time not determined*. Among other instances of his solicitude to reclaim him from his errors, particularly as to what regarded the Eucharist, is a long and excellent letter, which is one of the most compleat pieces of Controversy that ever was penned on this Characteristic Article of the Catholic Religion, and being dictated from the heart no less than the head, is equally addressed to both. At the same time, he tells *Cranmer*, he entertained but slender hopes that what he alleged would have its due weight with him, since what the learned Bishop of *Rockester*, *Fisher*, had wrote on that subject, and the late conferences at *Oxford*, had only contributed to harden and make him more obstinate; and that this had happened, not through any want of ability on the part of those, who would have withdrawn him from darkness, but because his weak and sickly optics could not support the lively ray of Truth, whose light only blinded him more.—He proves to him, that his mind, in its present situation, was incapable of understanding these doctrines; since he was neither enlightened as a Teacher, nor endowed with the teachableness of a Scholar.—That the errors he was fallen into, were the effect and punishment of the disorders of his past life; having been raised to Prelacy, in order to gratify the passions of his Prince, and having, on all occasions, answered this shameful purpose.—He takes notice of the endless evils he had brought on the Nation, of his prevarications in Religion, his perjuries and sensuality: by all which crimes he had drawn on himself the severest chastisement of an angry Deity, and been delivered up to a reprobate sense†.

* *Vita Pole*, p. 34. & tergo.

† The Original of this Letter, which

was wrote in Latin, is preserved in the French King's Library, M. S. v. 10213, pag. 43, and has been translated into

French

THOUGH the LEGATE takes frequent opportunities in the letter I have cited, to give *Cranmer* every signification of good will, and the sense he had of his misfortunes, he resumes the subject in a second letter, in which he expresses himself in this remarkable manner: "that his concern for him, and the desire of his welfare was such (he called God to witness) that was there any means of rescuing him from that terrible sentence of death, which, unless he returned to his duty and a right mind, hung over both body and soul, he would most willingly prefer it to all the honours and emoluments which can befall any one in this life*."

THE time when the sentence was to be executed was now at hand. He had been condemned, as has been said, two years before, for treasonable practices against his Sovereign's title and person, and had received sentence of death, which was confirmed

French by *Monf. le Grand*, and added to the 1st tome of his History of the Divorce; from whence it was inserted into Cardinal *Quirini's* Collection of the Author's letters, part 5, pag. 238.

* *Ea est mea salutis tuæ cura et studium, ut si te ab horribili illâ, quæ tibi, nisi respicias, impendet non solum corporis, sed etiam animæ mortis sententiâ, ullo modo liberare possim, id profecto omnibus divitiis atque honoribus, qui cuiquam in hac vitâ obtingere possint (Deum testor) libentissimè anteponerem.*

Notwithstanding this solemn declaration, and the LEGATE's precedent behaviour which was consonant to it, Doctor *Burnet*, without the least grounds, or even pretending to allege any authority, is not ashamed to advance (*Hist. Reform.* part 2, p. 327.) that CARDINAL POLE's impatience to get into the See of *Canterbury*, caused him to hasten *Cranmer's* death; and that this, and his passive behaviour in the persecution carried on a-

gainst Hereticks, were the only stains in his life.

But, surely, the Bishop of *Salisbury* could not but imagine the Reader would expect something more than his bare assertion to give credit to so foul an aspersion on such a Character. And had this excellent Person been capable of the Act of Blood and Ambition he is here charged with, and hastened the death of *Cranmer*, however guilty both in his public and private life, in order to make room for himself, far from being the Person the Bishop every where else represents him, he would have been more exceptionable than the Criminal, whose punishment he procured.

Besides, *Cranmer* was found guilty of treason long before the CARDINAL came to *England*; and was, therefore, dead in Law, and incapable of holding the least Church Benefice; and on the CARDINAL's return to his Country, he had been put in possession of the revenues of the Archbishoprick, which, on *Cranmer's* condemnation, were sequestered,

by

by the Legislature.—His misdeeds in a case of a higher and more divine order had been lately examined at that Tribunal, to which, by way of excellence, such Inquests belong, and to which all Ages have ever referred them. Here his offences had been found of such a nature as to injure Religion in her vital part, and to draw on the Offender all the censures and punishments she can inflict.

THE Pope, at the King's and the Queen's request, had appointed the Cardinal of St. Simeon to examine *Cranmer's* cause; and He had nominated the Bishop of *Gloucester*, and whoever he should think fit to join in the commission, to try the Criminal. The Court of Delegates was opened in St. Mary's Church, in Oxford; and the Bishop set forth in a long discourse, the crimes of which *Cranmer* was accused; and, namely, his apostacy, heresy, and incontinence; he made mention, also, of his treason. To which *Cranmer* replied, by disowning any submission to the Pope, and charging the See of *Rome* with doctrines and practices contrary to the Gospel.—As the Examination became more particular, the Criminal was accused of keeping a Wife secretly in *Henry's* reign, and openly in *Edward's*; of publishing heretical books, and constraining others to subscribe to them; of forsaking the Catholic Church, and denying CHRIST's presence in the Sacrament of the Altar; and, lately, of disputing publickly against it, at *Oxford*. All these Articles he confessed, and excepted only against having forced others to subscribe, which he said he had never done*. This information being taken, he was sent back to prison.

THE Report was made to *Rome*, and having been revised by a Committee of the sacred College, the Pope pronounced the following sentence: "That he had found *Thomas Cranmer*, formerly Archbishop of *Canterbury*, guilty of several offences against the

* *Burnet*, Hist. Reform. part 2, pag. 331.

Ecclesiastical Decrees and Rules of the holy Fathers; the traditions of the Church of *Rome*, the Councils, and the Rites, which had hitherto been received by the Universal Church; and, particularly, that he had held and taught a Doctrine concerning the Sacraments of the Body and Blood of JESUS CHRIST, and holy Orders, contrary to what had been always taught and believed; and had disowned the primacy of the holy See; and the Papal authority: that he had asserted the proceedings of the Church of *Rome* in the solemn condemnation of Hereticks; and their respective errors, to be unlawful; and had himself revived those of *Berengarius* and *Wickliffe*, and abetted those of *Luther*.—The Pope, in particular, declares he had maintained these doctrines in his answers to the Interrogatories made by his Holiness's Sub-delegate, the Bishop of *Gloucester*, and obstinately persisted in them.—For these reasons he excommunicates and anathematizes him; deprives him of the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, and all Ecclesiastical Privileges; commands his effects to be confiscated, and himself to be degraded and delivered up to the Secular Power. When this is done, their Majesties are required to proceed as the Law directs *."

19th Jan.
1555-6.
Bonner,
and
Thirleby.

THE Decree is directed to *Philip* and *Mary*, King and Queen of *England*, and to the Bishops of *London* and *Ely*, as to the persons who were to execute it †. In consequence of this sentence, the Bishops came down to *Oxford*, accompanied by the Doctors *Martin* and *Story*, as the King's and Queen's Proctors; and *Cranmer* being brought before them, their Commission was read, which declared him guilty of the crimes he had been charged with, and required them to degrade him.—During this awful Ceremony he persisted in denying the Papal Jurisdiction, and ap-

14th Feb.

* Postquam Curia Seculari traditus fuerit, id, quod juris fecerit, fieri mandetis.

† The Decree, in which this sentence

is contained, may be seen, at full length, in *Wilkins's Conc. Mag. Brit.* vol. 4, pag. 132, who transcribed it from *Fox*, vol. 3, pag. 997, edit. 1641.

pealed

pealed to a future Council. After the degradation and sentence of death, he was removed to the Dean's lodgings at *Christ Church*, and no kind of exhortation omitted to prevail on him to secure his last stake by a sincere repentance, and to retract his errors; which, perhaps, might also move their Majesties to reverse his doom, and pardon him. The prospect of this grace, and the dread of death, against which, it seems, neither the consciousness of a well-spent life, nor the goodness of the cause, in which he was to die, had armed him, caused him to sign a memorial, in which he abjured the errors of *Luther* and *Zuingli*, acknowledged the Pope's supremacy, the seven Sacraments, CHRIST's corporal presence in the Eucharist, Purgatory and Prayer for departed Souls, and the invocation of Saints.—He, likewise, desired those who had been led astray by his doctrine and example, to return to the unity of the Catholic Church; and protested he did this of his own free motion, and for the discharge of his conscience*.

Soon after, their Majesties ordered the Lord High Chancellor 24th Feb. to make out a Writ for his Execution, which is directed to the Mayor and Bailiffs of *Oxford*; and *Cranmer* had again renewed his Subscription, and transcribed a fair Copy of the whole: but having some misgivings of his approaching punishment, he secretly wrote another declaration of what his real tenets were, which contradicted, in every point, the doctrine he had before signed, and carried it about with him.—Being brought out to execution, Dr. *Cole*, Provost of *Eton*, was appointed to preach on this occasion, and he summed up, in a very pathetic discourse, “the chief disorders of the unhappy Offender's life, and particularly insisted on the miseries, in which his contrivance and persuasion had involved his Country.—The divorce he had made between the King and *Catherine* of *Aragon*, and the blemish which he had cast on the Issue of the latter.—That he had not only signed

* The Recantation is cited at full length, by *Collier*.

away the Crown from her present Majesty, but done it in very abusive and insulting terms.—That he had enslaved the Church and Sacerdotal dignity to the secular Power, and had frequently been guilty of the most flagitious hypocrisy in the great concern of Religion, and had never ceased to stir up Schismatics, Heretics, and Rebels, and had violated all Laws human and divine.—He concluded, by addressing his discourse to *Cranmer*, and extolled that mercy which had lately brought him to a sense and acknowledgment of his faults, and encouraged him to receive the punishment due to them with a Christian resignation, as the means to atone for them, and obtain a happy eternity*.”

WHEN *Cranmer* saw there was no further hopes of pardon, he retracted whatever he had subscribed to, declared it was contrary to truth, and that the fear of death, and desire of living had prevailed on him to act in this manner.—Being brought to the stake, he expressed great resentment against his right hand, for having signed the Catholic doctrine, and thrust it into the flames, in which his body was soon consumed†.

HOWEVER rigorous this proceeding may appear, the Criminal, on whom the punishment was inflicted, would have objected to it with an ill grace. He had consented to *Lambert's* and *Anne Askew's* death, who suffered, under *Henry*, for those very opinions which himself held concerning the Eucharist: and he had set the example, in *Edward's* reign, of that very proceeding which was now retaliated upon himself: He sate on *Joan Bocher*, condemned her as an obstinate Heretic, and delivered her up to the secular Power, to be punished according to her deserts. He behaved in the same manner to *George van Par*, a German Surgeon; and they were both burnt at the stake in *Smithfield*‡. The

2d May,
1550.

* Sermon at the Execution of *Cranmer*, *Hen. Cole's Works*, 8vo. Hist. Ref. part 2, pag. 131. *Thuanus*, lib. 17, p. 511, F. edit *Aureliana*, 1620.

† *Fox*, *Acts and Mon.* edit. 1583, p. 1816. *Strype*, *Vita Cranmeri*. *Burnet*, Cran. fol. 75, b. *Ibid.* fol. 78, a, and Archbishop's

‡ *Stow's Chron.* pag. 604, 605. Reg.

Archbishop's behaviour on this occasion was attended with an aggravation which creates horror: for, whereas the young King shewed a reluctance to sign the warrant for the execution of these Wretches, one of whom was more a Bedlamite than a Heretick, he solved his Scruples, and prevailed on him to put his hand to it*. It is, also, to be observed that these proceedings were carried on three years after the Statutes against Hereticks were repealed; and the sentence is pronounced with all the pomp in which severity and ostentation can dress it up.

24th Apr.
1551.

I HAVE only given an account of the particulars of *Cranmer's* punishment, and of the crimes which occasioned it: but the Cause, which is termed the Reformation, of which he is considered as a principal author, may, perhaps, make a still further account of him not unacceptable to the Reader's curiosity; and I could not interrupt the Narrative of the last Scene of his life, to exemplify in particular instances, what is related of him by Protestant Historians, and will greatly elucidate what has been already said†.

HE was born of a reputable family in *Nottinghamshire*; and being admitted into *Jesus' College*, in *Cambridge*, was deprived of his Fellowship for marrying; but, on his Wife's death, he betook himself again to an Academical life, and entered into holy Orders, and was observed by *Dr. Fox* as a fit person to promote the divorce. He was, afterwards, Chaplain to the Earl of *Wiltshire*, Father to *Anne Bullen*; and being recommended to the King as one zealous for his service, was employed by him in foreign Courts and Universities. In *Germany*, he became acquaint-

79, a: These proceedings may likewise be seen, at full length, *Wilkins's Conc. Mag. Brit.* vol. 4, pag. 43, et seq.

truly the effect of those Principles by which he governed himself. *Hist. Ref.* part 2, pag. 111, and 112.

* *Dr. Burnet* excuses these Actions in *Cranmer*, by saying, they did not proceed from cruelty of temper, but were

† *Fox, Godwin, de Præf. Angl. Strype, Vita Cran. Burnet, Hist. Ref.*

PART II.

X

ed

March,
1533.

ed with *Osiander*, one of the most profane and dissolute wretches of the age, as both *Calvin* and *Melancthon*, though engaged in the same party, represent him: and notwithstanding the most solemn engagements to celibacy, which he had taken at his Ordination, he married this Reformer's Niece. Here, likewise, he became acquainted with *Luther's* tenets, "adopted his sentiments, and was the most esteemed of those who embraced them*." On Archbishop *Warham's* death, which happened whilst *Cranmer* was abroad, the King named him to the See of *Canterbury*; and, on his return to *England*, whither his Wife, though in secret, accompanied him, he was consecrated according to the Roman Ritual.—The oath of obedience to the See of *Rome* is a Rite observed on that occasion, and *Cranmer* retired into a private place, and entered a protest against the oath he was going to take, and, then, took it.—In whatever light common sense and common honesty must consider this behaviour, two Historians of note have represented it as an instance of fair dealing and sincerity; and a third, who gives up the merit of the management, can only discover in it *something of human infirmity*†.—There was no abject compliance, as shall be exemplified a little lower, to which he did not let himself down, to flatter the passions of *Henry VIII.* and secure his own credit.—After his return from *Germany*, he continued during the remaining part of that Prince's reign, which was thirteen years, in a constant dissimulation of his Religion, and a daily profession and practice of what he disbelieved; as the denial of the Pope's supremacy was yet the only Article which divided *England* from the See of *Rome*: and *Henry* exacted a rigorous compliance with all the other terms of Communion, which *Cranmer*, though a Lutheran, observed. In consequence of this abandoned turn of mind, he subscribed to the six famous

* *Burnet*, Hist. Ref. part 1, p. 135.

† *Echard*, Hist. of Eng. vol. 2, pag.

281. *Burnet*, Hist. Ref. part 1, pag.

129. *Collier*, Church Hist. vol 2, b. 1. pag. 74.

Articles, which contain so many points in which the Reformers disagree with the ancient Doctrine, though he disbelieved them all. But because the celibacy of the Priesthood is enforced by one of them, under the penalty of death by fire, he sent his Wife back into *Germany*, where she remained to the end of that reign.

AT *Edward's* accession he threw off the Mask, and declared in favour of the Zuinglian and Calvinistical Principles, as they removed him at a still greater distance from the Catholic Belief, and were countenanced by the Protector. This he did of his own authority, before the Parliament had abolished the ancient worship, and an uninformed *Embryo* had been substituted in its stead. And here again he acted in direct opposition to the Lutheran tenets, which, before, he had imbibed and followed.—In a great number of writings he left behind him, there is scarce one Article of the Catholic Church, which he does not oppugn: he was so bent on extirpating every thing which could give the People a veneration for her authority that he wrote a treatise against all traditions*: and, though *Edward's* reign had went the lengths we have seen, in what was called *Reformation*, he never ceased to urge that young Prince to further changes, and to weary the Public with Schemes on that subject.—In the same view he invited over foreign Sectaries, and, however Antichristian their tenets were, obtained for them Churches, and recommended them to the favour of the Crown, to Professorships, and other emoluments; every path being right to him, which led the Nation, of which he was Primate, astray†.

* Against unwritten Verities.—An Examination of most points of Religion.—Concerning a further Reformation.—Some Considerations offered to *Edward VI.* to induce him to proceed to a further Reformation.

† *Martin Bucer*, who was first a Lu-

theran, then a Zuinglian, was made Divinity Professor at *Cambridge*.

Paul Fagius, Hebrew Professor at the same University.

P. Virmili, or *Martyr*, who was a professed Zuinglian, made Divinity Professor at *Oxford*.

J. à Lasco, Minister of the first Dutch Church

THOUGH Dr. *Burnet* grants these facts, and the others which follow, he accounts for *Cranmer's* conduct, with saying, "that in all this he did no more than his Conscience allowed him." I shall, therefore, ask the Reader's leave to present him with the sketch of a Conscience, which in a very different sense from that of the Apostle, *became all to all*, and accommodated itself, without distinction, to every thing.

THIS faculty, therefore, which was given to discern good from evil, and induce us to act by this estimate, was so ductile in *Cranmer*, as to allow him to enslave the Church, of whose Rights his station obliged him to be the Guardian, to the secular power; and to submit that authority, which her Ministers derive from JESUS CHRIST, to earthly Potentates.—He acknowledged *Henry VIII.* to be the sole source of all spiritual jurisdiction, and that it was by his sufferance, that he, the Primate, could judge and determine a meer spiritual cause; and, at his most humble request, the King grants him this power in the Commission to proceed on the Divorce*. On *Edward's* accession, he took out fresh Patents for his Archbishoprick, and acknowledged he held it revocable at the King's pleasure; and a special licence was issued out from an Infant to empower him, and the other Bishops, to confer Orders, and exercise the other Episcopal functions†. He suffered *Cromwel*, though a Layman, and utterly void of all Ecclesiastical knowledge, to preside at all the Convocations of the

Church in *London*, besides the errors of *Zuingle*, and other frenzies, found out twelve different meanings of the words of the Institution of the Eucharist, and rejected Baptism, which, he said, was become an Idolatry.

P. Ochin, who was employed with *Martyr* to compile the Liturgy, wrote a treatise in defence of Polygamy, became a Socinian, and died the Outcast of mankind, and an Atheist.

Nigellinus, Tremellius, Valerand, P. Alex-

ander, and several others, who were *Zuinglians* and *Calvinists*, and came to *England* in *Edward's* reign.

* The Commission is put down at length by *Collier*, *Eccles. Hist.* vol. 2, among the Collections, p. 15; and is taken from the Original preserved in the Library of *Robert Harley*, Earl of *Oxford*,

† *Sanders, Heylin*, p. 82.

Clergy.

Clergy. The same latitude of Principle permitted him to dissolve two of the King's marriages, on pretexts notoriously false, and which had no other foundation than a change in *Henry's* affections; and to sign the death of the Admiral, Brother to the Duke of *Somerset*, without bringing him to trial. It permitted him, though a Priest, and consequently obliged to celibacy by the most solemn ties, to take a Wife; and, in that condition, to accept of one of the first Sees of the Christian World; and though a Lutheran, to take at his consecration the oath of obedience to the Pope: to subscribe to the six Articles, which are so many condemnations of *Luther's* tenets, and by which the Mass, the capital object of the Reformation's aversion, is approved.—To offer up, during *Henry's* reign, this Sacrifice, even for the repose of the Dead; which, in his Principles, he must have looked on as an abomination before God; and to ordain Priests, on whom he conferred the same power.—To exact, even from Deacons, at their ordination, a solemn engagement to a single life, to which, though an Archbishop, he did not think himself obliged.—To pray to Saints, who are departed in God's favour, and reign with his blessed Son; and to pay a respect to their representations: though all these Practices were abjured by the late Doctrines, with which he had taken up.—As yet I have only pointed out a part of the character of that Conscience, which, Leopard like, was spotted all over.—To conclude, this ductile Conscience allowed him, in hopes of saving his life, to abjure all the tenets he had hitherto professed; and, when that prospect failed, and he was brought to execution, to revoke that very abjuration, and to declare it was all a lie.

*Catharine
of Aragon,
and Anne
of Cleves.*

THIS Person, who, *Proteus* like, put on all appearances, and was then only taken when he returned to his own form, “had, if we credit Bishop *Burnet*, as few faults, and as many eminent Virtues, as any Prelate for many ages*,” and “was put on a

* Preface to the first part of *Hist. Ref.* last paragraph but one.

level,

level, by those who compared modern and ancient times, with the greatest of the Primitive Fathers, not only a *Chrysostome*, an *Ambrose*, and an *Austin*, but with those of the first Class, who immediately followed the Apostles, an *Ignatius*, a *Polycarp*, and a *Cyprian**.—If there really were any such persons, who made this comparison, the Bishop has spared their memory by suppressing their names: But it was the highest insult on the sense and morals of his Readers, to suppose them susceptible of so gross an imposition; unless he imagined that what is called *Papery* has the same power over the minds of men, as *Circe's* wand had on the Companions of *Ulysses*, to deprive them of their reason.—As for the Bishop himself, he must have drank to the dregs of that intoxicating Cup, with which the lying Prophets are drenched, to give out such absurdities, and expect they should be credited.

THE severity I have related, was not exercised on *Cranmer* alone. Two hundred and seventy persons, during this Reign,

* Hist. Ref. part 2, pag. 336.

Our other Writers, who agree in the facts I have related, have yet bestowed every commendation on a Person whom they have singled out as the main Pillar of the Reformation, of which Mr. *Guthrie* styles *Cranmer* the Father.

Mr. *Hume* says, he was undoubtedly a man of merit—adorned with candour and sincerity, and all those virtues, which were fitted to make him useful and amiable in Society—that his moral qualities procured him universal respect; and the courage of his Martyrdom made him the Hero of the Protestant Party."

The *Biog. Brit.* says, "He must be allowed to be the glory of *England*, and one of the chief Founders of the Reformation."

I might quote a volume of the like Eulogies heaped on him by *Fox*, *Strype*, &c.

The founder few, however, have had too just a regard to that decency which every one owes himself, to fall into such extravagancies.—The celebrated Mr. *Prinne*, Keeper of the Records in the Tower, under *Charles II.* accuses him of perjury; of cruelty in burning the Professors of the Gospel; of being the chief Author of all the calamities of *Henry* the eighth's reign, and of subverting the Church; and represents him as a Hypocrite, an Apostate, and Rebel*.

Dr. *Fuller*, who has undertaken *Cranmer's* defence, is at a loss how to reply to any of the nine Articles which Mr. *Prinne* lays to his charge, most of which he gives up, and says, in a homely phrase, he will leave him, where he is guilty, to sink or swim by himself. Church Hist. b. 5, pag. 186.

* *Prinne*, Antipathy of Prelacy and Monarchy.

underwent

underwent the like punishment, at different times, and in different parts of the Kingdom; of whom a hundred and fifty were put to death, or died in prison, after *Cranmer's* execution*. A great number of these unhappy persons suffered in the Diocese of *London*, of which *Bonner* was Bishop, who is represented as the chief Incendiary of that flame; and *London* being the Capital, was likewise the Theatre, where the Delinquents were chiefly to make their appearance.—Great moderation was used in other parts of the Kingdom: not one was put to death in the Diocese of *Canterbury*, after *CARDINAL POLE* was promoted to that See: one only in that of *York*, of which *Dr. Heath* was Archbishop, and very few in the four Welch Dioceses: one in each of those of *Wells*, *Exeter*, *Peterborough*, and *Lincoln*, though this be the most extensive in *England*: two in that of *Ely*, and three in each of those of *Bristol*, and *Salisbury*; and none in those of *Oxford*, *Gloucester*, *Worcester*, and *Hereford*†.

THE Statutes, on which those who suffered were tried and condemned, were those of *Richard II.* and *Henry IV.* and *V.* and they set forth that the occasion on which they were made, "was the Errours which sprang up against the ancient Faith of the Church, to which both Houses of Parliament observe the distinguished attachment of the English above all other Nations.—The Liberty which itinerant Preachers gave themselves of travelling

* *John Fox* is the original Author, from whom this Account is taken, which has been very accurately examined by the learned Father *Parsons*, who lived very near those times, and has shewn that great abatements are to be made in what the Compiler of the Acts and Monuments says, as to the number, behaviour, and cause of the Sufferers — that he has advanced many and manifest falsehoods, and made himself suspected of still more: which caused an ingenuous and eminent Divine of the Church of *England* to pass

this censure on him, "that where he produces Records, he may be credited; but as to other relations he was of very slender authority."

Post *Thome Cranmeri* mortem usque ad *Marię* obitum, ob Religionem qui supplicio affecti sunt, aut damnati in carceres perierunt, per varias Regni civitates, oppida, castella, numerati sunt à Curiosis usque ad *CLXXVI.* *Thuanus*, Hist. lib. xvii. p. 512, C. edit *Aurelian.* anni 1620.

† *Heylin*, Hist. Ref. p. 226,

from

THE HISTORY OF THE LIEF

from place to place and breaching false doctrine — That they, likewise, raised commotions against the King, the safety of the Realm, and all order in Society, insomuch that their tenets were not only heretical, but seditious. — The Statutes, therefore, order the Sheriffs and other civil Magistrates to seize on all such Offenders, and bring them before their Ordinary; and on being found guilty, they are to be put to death, or punished according to the nature and degree of the Offence."

THESE Statutes had been repealed in the late Reign, and the reasons for reviving them in this seem, in great measure, to have been the same which caused them to be first enacted, the preservation and peace of the State against their attempts, who, under the pretence of conscience would have subverted it. The candour of Protestant Writers in relating these provocations makes it needless to search for any proof of them elsewhere than in their Works. — I have, already, spoke of the treasonable practices against the Queen's title, by the Innovators, which were preceded by several hardships she had endured, all her Brother's Reign, from the same Principles: these were succeeded by *Wiat's* rebellion, who was a professed Calvinist. — Notwithstanding this, two years of her Reign had passed without any thing which had the air of persecution on account of Religion. A Proclamation, indeed, had been published, commanding all Foreigners, who had fled their Country for heresy, murder, treason and other crimes, to leave the Realm, where they had abetted the late Rebellion, and were a public nuisance: but this proceeding cannot come under the name of Persecution.

Anno 1,
Marie.

THE Provocations I am speaking of, and which followed very fast one on the other, were treasonable practices against the Government; and indignities offered to the Religion the Sovereign professed; and to the Queen's Person, on no other account but because she professed it. — An Assassin attempted to take away her life, and, when he came to execution, justified the

the fact.*—Another personated King *Edward*, that he might dispute her title.†—Her Preacher was shot at in the pulpit at *St. Paul's*, and her Chaplains mobbed and pelted in the Streets.—When public prayers were ordered on a supposition of her pregnancy, a Reformed Clergyman made use of this form, “that it would please God either to turn her heart from Idolatry, or to shorten her days;” and when several who met at this Assembly were taken up, Bishop *Hooper* comforted them by letter, as suffering Saints‡.—A Dog’s head was shaved, in contempt of the Clerical tonsure; and, by an impiety which I have a difficulty to repeat, a wafer was put into a dead Cat’s paws, in derision of the holy Sacrament, and hung up at *Cheapside*.—Pretended Revelations, and the forgery of the Spirit in the Wall, were employed to disturb the Government, and discredit the Mass and Confession. These and the like impieties were followed by overt Acts of Rebellion, of which, an attempt to rob the treasury, the insurrection in the North, and the seizure of *Scarborough* Castle to favour a French invasion, are instances §.

MANY English Protestants, as they are now termed, though they were chiefly Zuinglians and Calvinists, at this time left their native Country, and retired into different parts of *Germany* and *Switzerland*. Here they as little agreed among themselves in doctrine and discipline, as they formerly had with that Church, whose communion they forsook; and set up the Puritan faction, against Rites and Ceremonies; the Presbyterian, against Episcopacy; and the Independant, against Pastors in general. Those who retired to *Geneva*, published a new Translation of the Bible into the English tongue, in which, to say nothing of the errors in point of Religion, there were several notes which the Civil Magistrate must have looked on as dangerous and seditious.—

* *Collier's Ch. Hist.* v. 2. b. 5. p. 380.

† *Stow's Chron.* pag. 624.

‡ *Fox, Coll.* Vol. 2. B. 5. p. 374.

§ *Heylin, Hist. Rest.* pag. 234.

These strange Proceedings gave the Germans the like opinion of these suffering Confessors, they had already had of those whom the Reformed English styled Martyrs; to whom, indeed, they gave the same appellation, but with an epithet too gross to find place here*.

How the LEGATE behaved in these transactions, we learn from one who was his Secretary, and who published his Life in a Country where he could be under no influence to represent his Lord's behaviour, as to the point in question, otherwise than it really was; and at a time, when all such misrepresentation would have answered no purpose, but to expose the Writer: and he informs us, the CARDINAL used his best endeavours that the Secretaries, who were still very numerous, notwithstanding many had left their Country, might be treated with lenity, and no capital punishment be inflicted on them; and though he could not hinder the judicial proceedings against such as were convicted of Heresy; and his station obliged him to discountenance doctrines, which were condemned by the Laws of the State, no less than by the Truth of the Gospel: yet he often reminded the Bishops, to whose cognizance these causes were brought in first instance, that they were Fathers as well as Judges.—When there was room for clemency towards any who were condemned to death, he interceded in their behalf.—He discoursed with several who were engaged in error, and accommodated himself to their various circumstances, “and made himself a Servant to All, that he might gain the more; to the weak he became as weak, that he might gain the weak: he made himself all things to all men, that he might save All.” By this Christian condescension he reclaimed, among others, Sir *John Cheek*, whose reputation and skill in the Latin and Greek languages, had recommended him to be Preceptor to *Edward VI*†.

1st Cor.
ch. 11.

* Ambass. de Noailles, tom. 4, pag. 343, &c. tom. 5, p. 335: Heylin, pag. 59.
Collier, vol. 2, b. 5, pag. 401. † Vita Poli, pag. 33.

THIS behaviour has so prepossessed a Writer of our own Country, though utterly averse to the CARDINAL's religious tenets, in favour of his humane and benevolent disposition, as to give us a debate, in which Bishop Gardiner is introduced as speaking in support of persecution, and the LEGATE against it*. But the Author's ingenuity, which is very great, has supplied the whole argument, of which I have found no trace in History.

ANOTHER celebrated personage, whose name is very high in the Catalogue of our present favourite Historians, and his authority very great, and who lived near the times I am speaking of, being born only three years before the CARDINAL's death, describes him much in the same light, in which the Writer of his life represents him; and, in the interesting passage I am about to quote, he describes himself†.

"I AM obliged, says he in a letter to his intimate friend, the Cardinal Bishop of *Ausbourg*, to publish, in my own defence, the *Work on the Church's Unity*, which the most earnest solicitations of my Friends, have not yet prevailed on me to do. — This is owing to my being attacked with great virulence by one I never saw, and have no other knowledge of, than from the slanders he has thought fit to publish concerning me‡. To make me odious, he represents me of a cruel and unrelenting nature, and attributes whatever I have done to reconcile the Emperor and the King of *France*, to a view of uniting their joint forces against the Lutherans. I need only appeal to you, my Lord, and to all who are acquainted with me, how little I deserve, either from prin-

* *Hume, Hist. of the Tudors, vol. 1, pag. 374.*

† *Quamquam invitatus faceret CARDINALIS POLUS, cui Religionis negotium commissum erat, ut in eos, quorum salutem tanto studio quæreret, durius animadvertere cogeretur; quippe qui cogitabat, quod etiam sæpius dicere auditus*

est, se ac cæteros Episcopos non solum Judices adversus pravè de Religione sentientes, sed Patres esse constitutos. Thuanus, Hist. lib. 17, pag. 512, C.

‡ This was *Verger*, of whom mention has been made, part 1, pag. 131, in the note.

ciple or temper, this imputation.—At the same time, I do not deny, but, the case supposed of any one's opinions being extremely pernicious, and he no less industrious to corrupt others than depraved himself, I might say, such a one should be capitally punished; and, as a rotten member, cut off from the Body. But it was my constant declaration, that this remedy was not to be applied, till every gentler method had been made use of; and I was so far from thinking that cures should begin by amputation, or any other severity, that, on all occasions, both in public and private, when I was to give my opinion, it always was in the manner I have mentioned.—This fact is so notorious, that, on account of my lenity in punishing erroneous Doctrines, I have hardly escaped a suspicion of favouring their cause whose persons I screened.—When I presided at the Council of *Trent*, where sentence was to be pronounced on All who had renounced the Doctrine of the Church, and the obedience due to her, there was no point I more frequently inculcated, than that, although we were the Judges of such causes and persons, we were, likewise, Fathers; by which name alone those are called who assist at Councils, whilst that of Judge is suppressed: and this was to remind us to behave in such a manner as, in all our Decrees, there might be still some mark of paternal affection: that, those who had left our Communion, though they were our avowed Enemies, yet ought not to be considered by us in that light; that they were still our Children, and as such to be treated with the tenderness which the name claimed. Nor was this my opinion alone, but that of my Collegues, and the judgment of the whole Council, who readily came into the same sentiments*.”

THE only exception which has been made, with any foundation, to this general Character of CARDINAL POLE, is a Commission issued out on occasion of several pernicious doctrines that

* *Reg. Poli Epist.* pars 4^a, pag. 156.

were

were taught and propagated in the Diocese of *Cantabury*; and, lest the suppression of it may seem to proceed from any apprehension of prejudicing his memory, sincerity obliges me to take notice of it.

THE Persons, to whom it is directed, are required to inform themselves of the fact, and have it certified by Oath, in the manner the Law directs in such cases; which is favourable to the Criminal.—They were to use their best endeavours to reclaim such persons; but if they remain obstinate, they are to be excommunicated; and, if the atrociousness of the crime requires it, delivered up to the Civil Magistrate*. In consequence of which Commission, he informs their Majesties of some who had been convicted, and leaves them to be punished as they deserve†.

It is difficult to determine who were the most active in carrying on prosecutions of this kind, and exerting the literal severity of Laws, which seem chiefly designed to deter Mankind from these criminal deviations from Truth, by the severity of the punishment denounced against them. The greater number of the Bishops were men of great moderation and averse to such measures, as appears by what has been said in this Work of some of them, and from the testimony given by Protestant Historians of the rest, except *Bonner*, and a very few more. Some leading Persons about the Court seem to have countenanced these measures, as necessary to secure the Government; and to have armed the Laws with all their terror against those who had distinguished themselves by their insults on Religion and the Ministry.—*Philip's* behaviour afterwards in the Low Countries, where the Duke of *Alva*, by his orders, put such numbers to death, make it not improbable, that he favoured proceedings, which, for political reasons, he would be thought to disapprove.—As for the Queen, whose character I shall speak to

* Si facti atrocitas ita exposceret. Ex *R. Pole*, fol. 29, b; and *Wilkins*, Conc. Mag. Brit. vol. 4, pag. 173.

† Condignâ animadversione plectendos relinquimus. Ex *R. Pole*, fol. 30, b; and *Wilkins*, as above, pag. 174.

elsewhere,

elsewhere, no one will wonder that her fondness for a husband twelve years younger than herself, and her attachment not only to his person, but his family, from which she descended by her Mother, should cause her to assent to what he was inclined to. — Something, likewise, must be given to the temper of the times; which, however, neither began with this Princess, nor ended with her: and yet the bloody Reign of Queen Mary alone, is still the dismal ditty of every Nursery, and we may say of it what the Poet does of the threadbare ballads of his days;

Cui non dictus Hylas puer, et Latonia Delos?

But far from retaliating this objection on her Successor, who made actions of mere Religious import, treason and felony, and punished those who performed them accordingly, I would chuse to treat this subject in such a manner as to cover heats, not spread and perpetuate them.

HAVING related the Historical Facts which concern these Penalties, I must ask the Reader's leave to add a few Reflections which elucidate the state of the question, and belong to this part of CARDINAL POLE'S History, no less than the Facts themselves.

— I have already shewn, that what gave occasion to enact penal Laws against Hereticks in former Reigns, and to renew them in this, was the open Rebellion against the Government, to which this licentiousness of opinions gave birth, as well as to the manifest subversion of the Catholic Doctrine. — This caused the Legislature to consider Heresy not only as a grievous sin against Almighty God, but as a heinous crime against the State: and as the cognizance of it belonged to the Church, Bishops were required to examine those who were accused of it; and, if they were found guilty, to deliver them over to the secular Power. —

But it must be observed, that these Statutes are Laws of the English Realm, not Canons of the Catholic Church, and no more make part either of her Faith or Discipline, than the hardships

Debtors

Debtors undergo in our common Goals, or the same punishment being assigned to murder and to the larceny of five shillings, can be imputed to the Church of *England*. Nor can it be replied, that these severities have still place in several Countries where the Catholic Religion prevails; as it is no argument against the general humanity and equity of English Protestants, that the usages I have mentioned are the Statute Law, where the Reformed is the established Religion. — The Catholic Church is so far from adjudging Hereticks to corporal punishment, much less to death, that all her criminal proceedings against such as are accused of Heresy cease when the Cause is cleared up, and her punishments extend no further than the spiritual state of the Offender. I shall exemplify this in as solemn an instance of the Church's jurisdiction as the case admits; and exerted by a Pope as jealous of his prerogative as ever filled the Pontifical throne: This was *Paul IV.* who in his Decree of *Cranmer's* condemnation, which is directed to *Philip* and *Mary*, "only requires them to deal with him, after he is delivered up to the secular Court, as the Law directs*," without the least insinuation of any bodily punishment. — The same sentence, in similar cases, is so universally understood not to extend to mutilation, or taking away the life of the Delinquent, that the Bishop, or whoever delivers him to the Civil Magistrate, always concludes the proceedings of the Spiritual Court in this manner; "We beseech you with all earnestness, that for the love of Almighty God, and on the motive of compassion, and because we ask it of you, that you will not condemn this miserable person to death, or the loss of his limbs†." The Laws of *England*, at the time I am speaking of, punished Heresy with death, but the Church is not accountable for Laws which she did not establish, and leaves their execution to whom it belongs. — The secular Judge every where proceeds on the same supposition, and in the

* Postquam Curiae seculari traditus fuerit, id quod juris est, fieri mandetis. Ex Bulla *Pauli IV.* *Wilkins*, vol. 4, *Conc. Mag. Brit.* pag. 132. † *Ibid.* 136.

Writ for *Cranmer's* execution, the King and Queen expressly take notice, "that the Criminal being condemned for Heresy, and degraded; as the Church neither had, nor ought to proceed any further in the affair, he was delivered over to them, the King and Queen, according to the laws and customs of the Realm, provided in such cases, and condemned to be burnt, in detestation of his guilt, and for a warning to other Christians*."

THE LEGATE had already, on *Cranmer's* being condemned as a Heretick, and his See declared to be vacated, been appointed Administrator of the Archbishoprick, and the Revenues were assigned to him. At the same time, he had received the rank of Cardinal Priest of the Church of St. Mary in Cosmedin, of which he was before only Cardinal Deacon, and was now both Priest and Prelate†. But on *Cranmer's* execution, the Queen nominated him to the See of *Canterbury*, as she had before signified her intentions, and on his shewing the difficulty he had to accept of the offer, the Princess, who had the affair much at heart, having represented to him the exigences of the times, and the aid which the Church of her Realm expected from his zeal, he acquiesced in the choice her Majesty had made; and sending *Godwell*, Bishop of St. *Asaph*, to *Rome*, on affairs of moment, and on this among the rest, he informed the Pope, that if such was his good pleasure, he consented to be consecrated; but on this condition, that he should be no more obliged to go to *Rome*, or be absent from a Post, which required residence.—Cardinal *Moron*, in quality of Protector of *England*, as the custom is, was to speak to the character of the other Prelates, whom the Queen had named to the vacant Bishopricks, and having performed this office to the

* Et cum etiam mater Ecclesia non habet quod ulterius in hac parte faciat, aut facere debeat. Juxta leges et consuetudines Regni nostri *Angliæ* damnatum et degradatum comburi facietis, in hujusmodi criminis detestationem, et

aliorum Christianorum exemplum manifestum. *Ibid.* pag. 140. Ex Rot. Pat. 2^o et 2^o *Phil.* et *Mar.* pars 2.

† *R. Poli.* Epist. pars 5^a, pag. 142. *Regist. Poli.*

rest,

rest, the Pope, who had reserved to himself the commendation of the Archbishop, began with a compliment to the Queen, and then discoursed on the CARDINAL in such a strain as nothing could be added to the Panegyrick; and concluded with saying, he owed this testimony to his learning, piety and integrity, with which he had been long acquainted*.

THE CARDINAL, on receiving the Decree of his election to the See of *Canterbury*, wrote to the Pope in the following terms. "I have received, says he, from your Holiness the Decree by which I am nominated to the See of *Canterbury*, and at the first signification of it I may truly say, that the greatness of the charge gave me a just distrust of my sufficiency to acquit myself of it, and would have deterred me from making such an undertaking my own choice. I reflected, afterwards, on the Princes, at whose recommendation I was named to this Post of Honour; on the Vicar of JESUS CHRIST, who had given an illustrious testimony in my favour; and on the Assessors, by whose approbation I had been chosen, and on those, whose welfare I was to superintend; and, lastly, that I was to perform this duty in my own Country, which is, as it ought to be, most dear to me.—On these considerations I did not dare to decline the burden, though but by a single word†."

THE LEGATE was ordained Priest, and received the Pall, and the other Ornaments of Primacy in the Church of the Blessed Virgin *Mary* of Arches, which is a Parish belonging to the Diocese of *Canterbury*; and having performed the divine service with great solemnity, he preached to an incredible concourse of Nobility and Gentry; which manner of instruction he continued in different places of his Diocese, and particularly in his Cathedral, ever after. The feeling of his conscience, as has been seen, was too delicate, and his knowledge of duty too correct, not to be

* *Vita Poli*, pag. 31.

† *R. Poli Epist.* pars 5^a, pag. 17.

informed that Residence is the obligation of all Bishops; and he entreated the Queen to consent to his complying with it; or, at least, to spend the greater part of the year in the discharge of it. To which she prudently opposed the charity he owed to the whole National Church, of which he was Primate, and which ought to have greater weight with him than a consideration for any particular part: that this care could no where be exerted to so much advantage, as when he was near her person, and assisted at the Councils, in which the welfare of the whole Realm was interested. The Divines and other qualified persons, who were consulted, were of the same opinion, and it was the general voice, that the Primate could not, without being wanting to what he owed the Public, refuse what the Queen, in these circumstances, required of him.

NOR did his care extend only to the great sources of good, which I have already mentioned in speaking of the National Council; but, likewise, set on foot those establishments by which the Divine Founder of Christianity has recommended the perfection of his Law, and which have been no less followed than taught by his Disciples. By his and the Queen's piety and care some Religious Houses were founded in London. The Chapter of *Westminster* being dissolved, the Convent was restored to the Monks, and Dr. *John Feckenham* appointed Abbot. The Priory of the Hospital Knights of St. *John*, near *Smithfield*, was restored the following year, and Sir *John Fresham* placed over them; and eight more Abbeys were founded and endowed out of the lands of dissolved Monasteries, which were still invested in the Crown*.

THE Chancellorship of the University of *Oxford* being vacated by the resignation of Sir *John Mason*, Knight, Fellow of *All-Souls*, and Privy Counsellor to *Edward VI.* the LEGATE was chosen to that high Post of honour; as he had been, at *Gardiner's* death,

* Ambassades de Noailles.

to that of *Cambridge**. The Decree, by which the former was conferred on him, was sent to *Greenwich*, where he then was, by some learned members of the University: and the motives they assign for making choice of him are, "that he had formerly been a credit to the University, and was now an honour to the whole Kingdom, and an ornament to the English Church; they take notice, in particular, of his indefatigable vigilance and paternal solicitude in repressing vice and error, which were grown to an enormous size, and recalling ancient Discipline, innocence of manners, and useful learning; and lastly, they mention the singular good will he bore the University, and the daily proofs he gave of it†."

THE CARDINAL returned his thanks to that illustrious Body by a very elegant letter, in which, besides the expressions usual in such an intercourse of Civility, he takes occasion to mention the great men who had graced the place to which they had elected him; and as the University, in its decree, had taken particular notice of *Fisher*, Bishop of *Rochester*, and *Gardiner* of *Winchester*, as persons, who, while they were at the head of the University, had greatly encouraged both Virtue and Letters, he observes, they had with peculiar discernment, selected those two: on whom he passes this peculiar judgment, "that two Persons could not be named in the whole Kingdom, in whom the supreme Being had given a clearer evidence of his mercy towards this Country; and that one of them perceiving the ruin which threatened Religion, opposed himself to it by a memorable example of fortitude, and being oppressed himself, was more useful to the Public by such a death, than any of those who survived him: the Other, having been a part of the common fall, was permitted to live, and, when the time of raising the ruins was

* Catalog. Cancel. *Cantab.*

† Elect. CARD. POLI, in Cancel. *Oxon. Wilkins, Conc. Mag. Brit. t. 4, p. 144.*

come, had, more than any one else, contributed to so laudable an undertaking.—He had signified to their Deputies, he says, that although he was disposed to do every good Office to the University, and to exert his authority in favour of its Members, yet he had rather they would confer the Chancellorship on some other person, who had the confidence of their Majesties, and was endowed with the qualifications, for which they justly celebrated those who had formerly held that dignity. But as they earnestly insisted on his not refusing this mark of their esteem and good will, he had accepted of it rather as their choice than his own inclination*.

*3 Ap. 1556,
Greenwich.*

I HAVE cited this more willingly as it is a proof of the LEGATE being superior to all that resentment which the most generous minds often feel at the envy and jealousy with which others thwart their undertakings. Though he had a long time experienced much of all this from *Gardiner*, yet because he judged him useful to the State, particularly at that juncture, he seconded his views, whilst he lived, on all occasions, in which he thought them justifiable; and, after his death, never failed to do honour to his memory, and not awaken the remembrance of any fact that might sully it.

How deserving CARDINAL POLE was of a place so suited to his high birth and genius, appears from his behaviour in it. Immediately on his election, the new Chancellor took care to have the Statutes revised, and where he found any thing deficient, he applied a remedy, and added what he further judged necessary for the better regulation of the University. On this account several candid Protestant Writers have acknowledged this Seat of Learning to have flourished more in his time, than either under *Edward* or *Elizabeth*. This appears from a passage in those Statutes revised and published by Archbishop *Laud*, one of his

* *R. Poli. Epif. pars. 5. pag. 88.*

successors,

Successors, who speaks in the following manner; "At *Edward's* accession a fresh effort was made to revive the splendor of the University, and as the King favoured the Undertaking, and the charm of Novelty still continued, the Work was begun. Soon after, when the Crown devolved to *Mary*, the same Work was again took in hand, under *CARDINAL POLE's* protection. New Statutes were made, but on as narrow a plan as the former. However, in this fluctuating state of Laws, the University flourished, Sciences were encouraged, discipline was kept up; and by a desirable happiness of the times, an ingenuous candour supplied the defect of Statutes, and what was wanting in the Laws was made up by the manners. In succeeding times there was an equal want of both*."

IGNATIUS of Loyola, Founder of the Order of Jesuits, died a few months after the time I am speaking of. Any mention of him would be foreign to the subject of this Work, was it not for the intimacy between him and the *LEGATE*, which appears from their letters to each other. These minutes, I am inclined to think, will give a very different idea from what an English Reader is generally taught to entertain of this celebrated Personage; and the good faith of History requires that popular prejudices should not prevail over that impartiality which is due to all Characters, and which they cannot but find from so discerning

31 July
1556.

* *Edoardo sexto ad clavum sedente, novo sudatum est molimine, præscribente Rege et lenocinante novitate, primò visum opus admitti. Paulò post potente rerum Mariæ, sub CARDINALIS POLI auspiciis, idem recrudit labor. Novæ exinde latæ leges, sed pari cum prioribus angustia: interim tamen inter incerta vacillans statuta viguit Academia, colebantur studia, enituit Disciplina, et optandâ temporum felicitate tabularum defectum refarcivit innatus candor, et*

quidquid legibus deerat, moribus supplementum est. Decurrente temporum serie, et vitiis et legibus pariter laboratum est.

It has been remarked, that Archbishop *Laud* was charged, on his trial, with this passage, as reflecting on Queen *Elizabeth* and the Reformation; but he answered, the Preface was not his; and that the words I have cited only related to the Statutes and Manners of the University of *Oxford*, in those times; not to the Church or Religion.

am

an age and country as has fallen to our share. The hardships under which that body of men now lies, can be no reason for not doing justice to their Founder; and the good sense and equity of an English Reader must make him despise a Writer, who then only was an index to merit, when popular favour shone on it. This shade is no discredit to the great services they have done to the Catholic Church; to which, the encouragement they have met with, above two hundred years, in all Countries of that Communion bear witness; and have no where been more cherished, or of greater emolument both to the Christian and Literary state than in those Kingdoms, from whence they have been lately banished. This justice is the more becoming in the present state, as some of our Writers have asserted the LEGATE's disapprobation of this Order, and his opposing its establishment amongst us, in the Reign of Queen *Mary**.—But let the documents speak for themselves, and the Reader be at large to make his own observations.

SEVERAL years before the time I am speaking of, and shortly after *Ignatius* began to form his Order, *Bobadilla*, one of his first Associates, had passed some time in reading lessons of Theology, preaching and administering the Sacraments at *Viterbo*, which was the Capital of CARDINAL POLE's Government, and had moreover greatly benefited that Province by the example of a blameless and laudable life. But the Pope standing in need of his labours elsewhere, ordered *Ignatius* to signify it to the Governor and recall *Bobadilla*. On this, the Governor let *Ignatius* know the unwillingness with which he should part with so deserving a person, and offers himself with the utmost readiness to serve him and his Society†.

* There is a shuffling Article on this head in *Burnet*, Hist. Ref. part 2, pag. 327, from whence it has been transcri-

bed into the Bio. Brit. under the Article POLE [x]

† *R. Poli*, Epil. pars 5, pag. 115.

BEFORE the LEGATE set out from *Brussels* on his way to *England*, *Ignatius* had signified to him the hopes he had of the success of his Embassy, and, soon after, he let him know, the news had reached *Rome* of the desired event being come to pass in so short a time, that it was manifestly the Work of that Being, who has no occasion for the opportunity of circumstances and seasons to bring about whatever is pleasing to his divine and perfect will.—He informs him of the universal joy this intelligence of a flourishing Kingdom being brought back from error to the paths of truth had caused, and of the particular satisfaction his Society had received from it; that as no persons were more attached to his Excellence than themselves, on whom he had conferred the highest obligations, so it afforded them a singular pleasure that the Divine Wisdom had thought fit to commit so great a work to his care.—He informs him, also, of the prosperous state of the new Institution; that in the Roman College, where all Sciences, Physic, and the Law excepted, were taught, there were above seventy Students of their own Body, and above five hundred who frequented these Schools from the City.—That the students in the German College answered their warmest wishes, among whom was an English Youth of quick parts and good dispositions; and if the LEGATE thought fit to send any others who had an aptitude for letters, he had great hopes they would soon be in a condition to return to their Country every way qualified to be of service to her, and a credit to the place from whence they came; as great care was taken to bring them acquainted with what was laudable in that Capital, and to preserve them from the contagion of the contrary*.

THE LEGATE in his answer thanks him for his congratulation on the success of the English affairs, and tells him he had read with a particular complacency the progress of his Society, which

* *Reg. Poli Epist.* pars 5^a, pag. 117.

Paul IV.

he hoped would still increase, and that the character of the Pope, who was lately chosen, was such as could leave no doubt of his shewing special favour and protection to so deserving a body of men.—There is another letter to *Ignatius* to the same purpose. As to the proposal of sending English Youths to the Roman College, I have met with nothing which throws any further light on it. The urgent and manifold concerns which divided the LEGATE's time and thoughts might, perhaps, only allow him leisure to enter on that universal plan of Ecclesiastical Discipline, of which I have given a detail; and he might have wanted an opportunity to descend to several particulars, which a longer life and fewer exigencies of the times he lived in, would have afforded.

IGNATIUS died some months after the date of this last letter, and *Laynes*, who succeeded him in the Government of the Society having informed the LEGATE of it, he assures him of the part he took in a loss which was common to all; and observes, as *Laynes* had done, that he made no doubt, but being nearly united to the source of all good, he was more in a condition to assist them, than when on earth, and he adds several obliging expressions both to the Superior General and his Body†.—*Ignatius* had often said, he desired to see three things before he left the World; his treatise of Spiritual Exercises approved by the holy See; his Order confirmed by the same authority, and the Institutes of it become public.—He died with this satisfaction; the Order of Jesuits was already spread almost over the whole world, and divided into twelve Provinces, which contained, at least, a hundred Collèges, besides the other Houses destined for the use of the Professed Religious.

15 Nov.
1556.

1552.

A FEW years before his death, the most celebrated of his Disciples, *Francis Xavier*, had finished a life, which has been the

* *Reg. Poli Epist.* pars 5^a, pag. 119.† *Ibid*, pag. 120, 121.

object of admiration not to the Catholic Church only, but to those who are estranged from her tenets. After having enlightened the Empire of *Japan* and several other Kingdoms and Provinces of the East with the Gospel, he died in the Island of *Sanciano*, as he was preparing to transfer that blessing to *China*; and the Authors I have cited have vied with each other in celebrating his zeal, the sanctity of his manners, the uncommon gifts he received to execute the office of Ambassador of *JESUS CHRIST*, his heroic patience and courage; and, on a full conviction of his claim to the title, have stiled him the Apostle of the *Indies*, and a second *St. Paul*.*

* *Baldus*, History of the *Indies*. *Hackluyt*, Discoveries of the English, part 2, vol. 2. *Tavernier*.

S E C T. XI.

The LEGATE's behaviour under the treatment he received from Paul IV.

The manner of his Death.

THE calamities of a long war between *France* and *Spain* had now ceased, and all *Christendom*, which had felt, more or less, the effects of these two Powers being at variance, seemed to conceive some hopes of a lasting peace.* This pleasing prospect had not been enjoyed above two years when the attention of *Europe* was called off to something less agreeable; a dissention between *Paul IV.* and *Philip* of *Spain*, King of *England*, which was either the cause or the pretext for a rupture between *France* and *Spain*. This gave *CARDINAL POLE* an opportunity of exerting that patience and moderation, which had so eminently distinguished the other parts of his life; but does not seem to have ever appeared to so great an advantage as when he was not very far from being removed to that state which was to be its reward.

THE severest crucible in which Heaven tries and refines the purest Virtue is, when those, who by their station should encourage the cause of goodness, give up what this character requires of them to envy and jealousy, and under some pretended colouring, gratify their own causeless resentment, and injure that cause they ought to support. Whoever has fortitude to bear up under such an oppression, and realize in practice that Heroism, of which such engaging Ideas are formed and so few examples set, that

* A truce of five years was concluded in 1555, and broke in 1557.

Man is great indeed. The following opportunity was that which the CARDINAL had of shewing this greatness of soul and the manner in which he shewed it.

PAUL IV. had taken up an animosity, which was hereditary between the *Caraffa* family, of which he was descended, and the *Colonna*. Each of them had large possessions in the state of *Naples*; and in all contests about that Kingdom, the former have favoured the interests of *France*, and the latter those of the House of *Austria*. The *Colonnas* are likewise Vassals of the Pope, having large Baronies and lands in the Papal dominions, which they hold of the See of *Rome*; and *Paul*, on some pretext, with which the wilfulness and acrimony of old age furnished him, * had caused *Mark Anthony Colonna* to be accused of high treason, and, on his not appearing at his trial, to be condemned, and had seized the Duchy of *Paliano* and other Castles and Estates belonging to that Nobleman, and given them to his Nephew *John Caraffa*. He had, likewise treated the other branches of the *Colonna* family, and the *Sfortias* with great severity, and thrown *Ascanio Sfortia*, the Cardinal Chamberlain, and a particular friend of the LEGATE, into prison,

ON this the head of the *Colonna* family having recourse to the Spanish interest, the Viceroy of *Naples*, by *Philip's* orders, had entered the Ecclesiastical state at the head of an army too powerful for the Pope to oppose. He had been included in the late truce between *France* and *Spain*, as an Ally of the former, and this behaviour seemed a violation of that treaty; he sent, therefore, another of his Nephews, Cardinal *Charles Caraffa*, into *France*, in order to engage that Court in his interests against *Philip*; and remind *Henry II.* of the ancient claim of his ances-

* Cæterum, his tot virtutibus iterat cedere, prorsusque imperii nimius. *Gratiani* de casibus illustrium Virorum, pag. 316.

tors to the Kingdom of *Naples*, and offer him all the weight of his Uncle's power, which he took care to magnify, to make it good. He prevailed so far on the French King, that he sent him back with 2000 men; and a treaty of alliance was agreed on at *Rome* by the Cardinals of *Lorain* and *Tournon*, on the part of the Court of *France*. The French army entered *Italy* soon after; * but the *Spaniards*, who had every where the superiority, defeated the Pope's troops and those of his Ally, and took several of his towns.

Novemb.
1556.

THIS has no other connexion with the subject of this work than as the good offices the LEGATE interposed in order to bring about an accommodation, awakened in the Pope's breast an ancient malevolence he had entertained against Him, and gave occasion to the trial I have just hinted at. And as this is one of the most interesting scenes of the CARDINAL's life, it well deserves to be set forth in such a detail and with all those circumstances, which may place it in it's full light, and neither deprive the CARDINAL's memory of the honour, nor the Reader of the example of such an instance of fortitude.

Magister
facri Pa-
latii.

SOME years before the time I am speaking of, CARDINAL POLE in a letter to *Hierom Muzzarelli*, one of the great officers of *Julius* the Third's household, had entered on a long and sensible discussion of the uneasiness he lay under at the want of good will he had experienced from the present Pope, who was then Archbishop of *Naples*, and known by the title of the *Theatine* Cardinal; though, he says, he was not conscious to himself of having given any occasion to this behaviour, and had always greatly honoured that Prelate for the uncommon regularity of his manners, of which all were witnesses who were acquainted with him. *Muzzarelli* had informed the CARDINAL of several significations of the Archbishop's regard, and as a common

* *Ribier* ii. 645, 648-9, 658, 660.

friend

friend to both, had entreated him to acquiesce in the assurances he gave him of it — that, whereas the CARDINAL had thoughts of writing an Apology for himself against some rumours which were spread to the disadvantage of his Orthodoxy, the Archbishop had desired him, for the honour of the sacred College, not to descend to a cause so much beneath the dignity of such Associates; and, in as much as it was personal to the CARDINAL, he took the justification on himself. — The CARDINAL says, he hopes the Archbishop's whole behaviour will be uniform with this and the like declarations; but that there were several persons who cautioned him against laying much stress on them; and, who on the CARDINAL's repeating the instances of friendship he had lately received from him, had accused his simplicity for believing others as sincere as himself: they insisted particularly on the necessity of this diffidence with respect to the testimony he had given in the CARDINAL's favour to those who preside at the inquisition, and to the Pope himself; for why, say they, should he bring up your name in such a place and before such Judges, unless it was to shew you was not clear of suspicion in their estimate? He concludes in this remarkable manner; notwithstanding all this, I will give greater credit to what the Archbishop says of his own dispositions, and what *Muzzarelli* writes of them, than to any thing else; or even to any former sentiment in which that Prelate may have been. But though it belongs to us both not to injure this mutual friendship, yet this duty is chiefly incumbent on the person who was thought to have violated it. — That, no one could object to him any single instance, in which that Prelate could think himself injured; but that he, the CARDINAL had been often blamed for taking his part with too much warmth, when others found fault with him — that, his Correspondent might assure the Archbishop of every good office which could be expected from one who had a habit of sincerity and good will in his regard,

regard, and that he would take care this assurance should not deceive him nor any of their friends. *

THE war was scarcely broke out between the Pontiff and Philip, but the English LEGATE wrote to the former with the wisdom of a Counsellor and the sanctity of a Primate; and, at the same time, used all his endeavours with the King, who was in *Flanders*, and with her Majesty at home, that all further hostilities might cease.

“No disagreement, says he, writing to the Pope, could be more unseasonable to the whole Christian Commonwealth, and to this Kingdom in particular, than that which has now commenced between your Holiness and the King; and no news could be more unwelcome than that hostilities had proceeded so far as to annoy the Ecclesiastical state and *Rome* itself. This incident is so much the more affecting as the motives of mutual love and agreement between your Holiness and his Majesty are greater and more numerous; the chief of which is the singular zeal which the King and his Royal Consort shewed, as soon as they had taken possession of these Realms, of recalling their People to the true Religion and the obedience of the Holy See; on which account your Holiness declared the great and singular regard and love you bore him.—There are, besides, several particular ties of mutual good will and amity, which connect you and the King; one of which is, that you was born and educated in the hereditary States of his Majesty, where your noble family enjoys great wealth and honours; that you passed part of your Youth in the Court of his Grandfather; was Counsellor to his Father, and deputed by the holy See Legate to him. These circumstances you are wont to repeat with pleasure, and on being raised to the Popedom, you ordered me to mention them to his Majesty, when I com-

* *Reg. Poli Epist.* pars 4^a, pag. 91.

plimented

plimented him in your name on the cession of the said Kingdoms made to him.—Wherefore though I had not received your commands as to the manner in which I was to behave at this juncture, yet the interest I take in the cause of Religion, the duty I owe you, most holy Father, and the affection which, for very good reasons, I have long bore his Majesty will not permit me to be either silent or unactive in an affair of this importance. I have already represented, to the King, by letter, every argument which this subject suggested to me, but to no effect: the only thing I have left, is to send one of my Household to *Rome*, to know your orders, and be informed of your welfare, concerning which I am, as I ought to be, very solicitous.—He ends the letter by desiring the Pope to send the patents for four vacant Bishopricks, that they might be immediately supplied with the Pastors who had been named to them, and whom he recommends to the Pope, and gives a very honourable testimony in their favour. This Dispatch was sent by *Henry Penning*, the LEGATE's English Secretary*.

THE Pope, at first, seemed pleased with this instance of duty, and thanked the LEGATE for it; yet, soon after, he looked on it as a troublesome censure of his past conduct, and a check to the hostile designs on which he was wholly bent. His late losses had only exasperated a haughty spirit, and he now proposed by an alliance with *France* to drive the Spaniards out of *Italy*; and, perhaps, was not without hopes of getting possession of *Naples*, and realizing an ancient claim the Popes have to that Kingdom. For when the Neapolitans, some years before the time I am speaking of, had rose up in arms against the cruelties and contumelious usage of *Peter of Toledo*, Duke of *Alva*, their Viceroy, this Pontiff, when he was Cardinal, had endeavoured to persuade *Paul III.* to make use of the present

† *R. Poli* Epist. pars 5^a, pag. 20, and pag. 22.

opportunity of ridding *Naples* of the Spanish yoke, and renewing his own pretensions to it; which are so far acknowledged by the Sovereigns of that State, that, at their accession, they pay a tribute of 6000 Ducats and a white Hackney to the See of *Rome*. The LEGATE's pacific dispositions, and the weight his integrity gave him in all deliberations were an obstacle to the Pope's views. He chose, therefore, to consider his advice, though given with all possible respect, as a breach of duty rather than a proof of it, and to treat him in the manner I am going to relate.

25 Jan.
1557.

May.

7th July.

SINCE the hostilities were begun in *Italy*, nothing was wanting to an open war between *France* and *Spain* but the declaration of it, which ceremony was now complied with. * On this, *Philip* came to *England* after an absence of almost two years, in order to engage the nation in a war, which was purely Spanish, and equally contrary to the engagements we had with the *French* and to our own interests. Several reasons indeed were assigned, as is usual on such occasions, of which invention always furnishes as many as truth, but quite destitute of foundation. The Queen, however, was prevailed on by her inclination to her Husband, and against her own better judgment, to come into this measure; and though the wiser part of the Council was of their Sovereign's mind, yet war was declared against a Nation, whose name alone is deemed almost a sufficient title for it; and *Philip*, having gained his point, left *England*, never more to return to it.

WHILST these actions of hostility were meditating for the field, the Pope was exerting at *Rome*, in a different cause, an equal enmity against CARDINAL POLE.—He began by declaring his intention to recall his Legates and Nuncios from all the King of *Spain's* dominions, and he mentioned the CARDINAL

* Negot. d' *Amboise de Noailles*.

among

among the rest.—The Queen, on this intelligence, given her by Sir *Edward Carne**, her Ambassador at the Court of *Rome*, ordered him to represent to the Pope the general alarm this news had caused in her People, and to entreat him to desist from a measure which would be so prejudicial to a cause, of which all motives concurred to make him the Protector: the Bishops also made the same representations.

15th May,
1557.

ON this the Pope declared that, at the Queen's request and for the welfare of the Nation, he would still continue, for some years, the Legantine jurisdiction in *England*; but as it would be unbecoming the place he was in, and the dignity of the Consistory to name again the same Person Legate, whom a little before they had divested of that character, with a design of calling him, with other absent Cardinals, to *Rome*, on matters of importance; he judged it more adviseable to create another person, who resided in *England*, Cardinal, and add to this dignity the authority of Legate; that so he might at once satisfy the Queen and Nation and not seem to have lightly varied in his proceedings.—He, therefore, nominated *William Peyto*, of the Order of Saint *Francis* to the purple, and appointed him Legate in *England*, in the same manner as CARDINAL POLE had been, and transferred on him all the powers the latter had enjoyed†.

14th June,
1557.

THIS declaration was followed by a Decree, addressed to the English Bishops to the following purpose: "That the Pope had understood from some of them how necessary the authority of a Legate of the holy See was still in that Realm, in order to establish in it the Catholic faith; that he was desirous to convince them of his paternal affection to the Queen, and his care of the welfare and dignity of all the Churches of her Kingdom; but as

* Letter of Sir *Edward Carne* to Q. *Mary*, ex *Cartophylac.* Regist. quoted at length by Dr. *Burnet*, Hist. Ref. part 2, Col. of Records, pag. 314.

† Ex *Actis Consistorialibus*, die *Lunæ*, xiv *Junii*, cited in the fifth part of CARDINAL POLE's letters, pag. 444.

he had resolved, for weighty reasons, to recall his Legates, and among them, CARDINAL POLE, he could not change his resolution concerning the latter without departing from the gravity of the holy See, and altering the decree, which was already made, to order him and other absent Cardinals to repair to Rome, that they might assist him, the Pope, as their duty required in the discharge of his office.—For these reasons he had created *William Peyto*, whom he had formerly known at Rome, Cardinal; that he had thoughts of conferring this honour on him, at the beginning of his Pontificate, on account of his probity and zeal for Religion, of which he had given very signal proofs both in his own Country and elsewhere; but that his promotion had been very seasonably deferred till the present juncture, when, with the general approbation of the sacred College, he had substituted him to CARDINAL POLE.—He, therefore, had appointed him Legate, by commission, of *England and Ireland*, and sent him the badges of this dignity, and required of them to receive him in that character, and shew him the respect and deference it intitled him to.—He designed him, likewise, for the See of *Salisbury*, and as some of our Writers relate, at the death of Dr. *John Salcot*, named him to it.

Legatus a
latere.

20th June,
1557.

Legatus
natus.

By the above mentioned proceeding the CARDINAL was not only deprived of the Legantine office, which he held by commission, but of that also, which had always been annexed to the See of *Canterbury*, and which, though inferior to the other, conferred great authority and a very extensive jurisdiction; those who were invested with it being called *Legates by birth*, because they inherit as it were, that dignity on being named to some of the great Metropolitan Sees, among which that of *Canterbury* is very deservedly a distinguished one.

THE Queen was informed, by Sir *Edward Curme*, of this step being taken, before any other news of it had reached *England*; even before he, who was so personally interested, had the least intimation

imitation of it; and she saw the impropriety of the whole affair and the sad consequences which were likely to be the effects of it. *Peyto* was now far advanced in years, and had neither birth, nor abilities, nor a reputation equal to the post he was designed for, especially after such a Predecessor; and was, moreover, a begging Friar. Each of these circumstances made this measure as unreasonable as it could possibly be in that conjuncture. The Catholic Religion was hardly recalled; there were many and various remains of the late schism and errors; the manners of the Clergy had not yet regained the respect which is due to their character; and the mendicant Orders were still held, by the generality of the People, in contempt. All these disadvantages, which, in the nature of things, excluded *Peyto* from the first spiritual Jurisdiction in this Country*, were counter-worked in CARDINAL POLE by his Royal extraction, excellent learning, and a singular probity and sanctity of manners. These qualities placed him above all objection, and caused even those, who, perhaps, disliked his attachment to the Church of *Rome*, to honour and admire his person.

HER Majesty, therefore, on intelligence of these proceedings, gave orders that no Messenger from *Rome* should be permitted to land in *England*, and that all letters and dispatches from thence

* *William Peyto* was born of a Gentleman's family of *Chesterton* in *Warwickshire*, and had been Confessor to Queen *Catharine*, Wife to *Henry VIII.* He opposed the Divorce with an intrepidity, of which there is scarce any other example: for preaching before the King, when he eagerly pursued this affair, he took for his text the last part of the story of *Ahab*, where the Dogs licked the blood of *Naboth*, even there shall the Dogs lick thy blood, O King: and speaking of the lying Prophets who deceived him, "I, says he,

addressing his discourse to *Henry*, am that *Micajah* whom thou wilt hate, because I must tell thee truly, that this marriage is unlawful;" with more to the same purpose, which may be seen in *Stow's Annals*, under the year 1553.

Several Writers have given a very advantageous account of this zealous and religious personage. *Athe. Oxon.* V. 1. Col. 686. *historia minor Prov. Angl. Fratrum Minorum.* Mr. *Dod*, Church Hist. vol. 1, pag. 480.

should be brought her: She took care also, that the whole affair should remain a secret to the LEGATE and to *Peyto*. At the same time she sent a Messenger to *Rome* with orders to her Ambassador to inform the Pope, that his late proceedings were utterly destructive of whatever had been done towards recalling the ancient Faith; and, if he persisted in them, nothing less than the total ruin of that cause was to be expected, and the former calamities, or even worse, to take place; that she could not persuade herself that his Holiness, if he was acquainted with the situation of the Kingdom, would have taken so ill-timed a measure; and, therefore, entreated him by all that was good and sacred, to proceed warily in an affair of such consequence; and called both God and Men to witness she was not accessary to the Evils which would not fail to ensue, if he persisted in his resolution.

THE Pope, * whose prejudices against the PRIMATE were as violent as unjust, and who seemed little solicitous about any thing but making him feel the effects of them, told Sir *Edward Carne*, that he had some things of importance to discuss with CARDINAL POLE, and, therefore had sent for him; insinuating at the same time, what he had sufficiently intimated on other occasions, that he suspected his orthodoxy, and would know his sentiments on some points, in which Faith was concerned, and confront him with Cardinal *Moron*. This suspicion had been formerly raised by the lenity of the CARDINAL's behaviour towards those who were accused of error in his Government of *Viterbo*; and because he observed the same conduct in *England*, those who were desirous he should, at all events, be blameable, supposed he favoured the tenets of such who had left the Church, because he screened their persons.

* Cujus erat ingenium elatum, vehemens, acre, et cum primum ad suspicionem, tum ubi fides et religio age-

retur, præceptis ad vindicandum, *Gratian*, pag. 226.

To this the Queen replied, that if the Pope really had any mistrust of the LEGATE's faith, it must of very late date, since himself had bestowed the most ample commendations on him, in full Consistory, when he proposed him for the See of *Canterbury*; and if he had since given occasion to any sinister opinions, though she could by no means persuade herself that was the case, she begged of his Holiness to inform her of the whole affair; and she would not fail, agreeably to the antient custom and laws of the Realm, to have his cause brought before the Bishops, who, on proper information, should either acquit or condemn him; as it was her intention that neither the interests of Religion should suffer, nor the innocence of the PRIMATE be oppressed.

THESE Negotiations were not carried on so secretly, but something of them came to the LEGATE's knowledge, and as he conjectured the real fact, that the Queen had intercepted the Pope's orders, by which he was divested of the character of LEGATE, he immediately forbade the silver Cross to be bore before him, and quitted any further mark of the Legantine jurisdiction, and abstained from every other exercise of it. — He sent, also, his Chancellor *Ormanet* to *Rome*,* to be fully informed of the Pope's intentions, and to signify his own readiness to comply with them; and to lay before him the state of the English Nation, and his own grief that the Pope should entertain any doubts of his doctrine: and how ill suited such suspicions were to all he had hitherto writ and acted, and suffered in defence of the prerogative of the holy See, and of the Catholic Religion.

He was, moreover, to represent the sentiments and discourses of the most considerable Persons, both of the Clergy and Laity, on this affair; who were unanimous, that no measure could be

* *Nicholas Ormanet* had been recommended to the LEGATE, by Pope *Julius III.* as a person of great judgment and singular skill in Ecclesiastical affairs.

After his Patron's death, he appeared with great credit at the Council of *Trent*; was made Bishop of *Padua* in 1570, and died seven years after.

more unseasonable than the abrogation of the Legantine Jurisdiction. After which, the CARDINAL concludes with a declaration suited to the modesty and disinterestedness, which had always distinguished his character; that, provided this Jurisdiction was still continued in the Kingdom, he did not think it very material by whom it was exercised; and if the Pope thought proper to ease him of the burden, he would do every good office in his power and shew all respect to the person who was sent in his place*.

10th Aug.
1557.

Sir Ant.
Browne.

THE Pope received *Ormanet* with much seeming humanity, and heard him plead his Lord's cause very attentively, which was so clear, and urged in such submissive terms as to mollify the obdurate heart of *Paul IV.* But while the Chancellor was at *Rome*, the news arrived of the defeat of the French army at *St. Quintin's*, in which the High Constable and chief of their Nobility were either killed or taken Prisoners. The honour of the day was chiefly owing to the valour of the English troops, commanded by the Earl of *Pembroke*, and to the personal bravery of Lord *Montacute*, the Lieutenant General. This overthrow caused *Henry II.* to recall the troops he had sent to the Pope's assistance, a few excepted, which were left for the guard of his Person, and the same ill success attended the Pontiff's forces, which were routed, about this time, by the *Spaniards*, at *Signia* in *Campania*.

THE Pope dissembled his resentment against *Philip*, which this defeat had increased, and against the CARDINAL, which was no less inveterate†. He went even so far, as *Ormanet* afterwards told his Historian, *Beccatelli*, as to clear him from all suspicion of heterodox opinions, and to say, such rumours were spread by malice and envy, which as they had not spared the most inno-

* *R. Poli*, Epist. pars 5^a, pag. 27.

† Hoc ipso tempore duplicem de re male gesta nuncium acceperat....ira-

cundiam cum in *Philippum*, tum etiam in *Polum* multo ante conceptam dissimulavit. *Poli vita*, pag. 36.

gent Author of Christianity, it was no matter of surprize if they attacked his Followers. He continued this ambiguous behaviour with *Ormanet* till he had concluded a peace with *Philip*, and then Sept. 14th dismissed the LEGATE'S Chancellor, telling him, he would send Cardinal *Caraffa*, his brother's son, to *Flanders*, in order to conclude with the King and the Cardinal every thing that was yet in debate.

RESISTANCE and disappointment had always the effect on *Paul IV.* which the banks have on the billows of the Sea: it caused him to meet them with redoubled violence*. His late losses therefore only made him dissemble the real sentiments he had long cherished against the LEGATE, to whose counsels his ill humour made him impute the English succours which were sent to *Philip* and the defeat of his Ally†. Thus whilst he made declarations to *Ormanet* in the LEGATE'S favour, he signified, as has been said, by equivocal discourses, a diffidence in the soundness of his doctrine, and suffered proceedings to be carried on against him which necessarily inferred that supposition.

Not content to shew his malevolence to the English CARDINAL, he wrecked it, in a very unbecoming manner, on the dearest of his friends, the Lord *Prinli*, who, as we have seen, had followed all his fortunes ever since their acquaintance at the University of *Padua*; for this Nobleman having been nominated at the request of the Republic of *Venice*, to succeed to the Bishoprick of *Brescia*, which is one of the most considerable in *Italy*, and it being at this time vacated, the Pope refused to ratify the grant which was made by his Predecessor. The LEGATE took this occasion to write to his Holiness of this injustice

* Immoderata animi indomiti, ac imperiosi vis, et juris sui nimio plus retinentis. *Gratiani* de casibus, lib. 1. c. 1.

† Id adeo odium intendebat ipse quo-

que *Paulus*, cujus vim animi atque infam ingenio ferociam non tam sedaverat, patet patet in prospera belli asperant. *Gratiani*, ubi supra, pag. 333.

done to his Friend, and made use of it as an introduction to the subjects of complaint which regarded himself.

“ I HAD heard, some time ago, most holy Father, says he, writing to the Pope, that your Holiness had annulled the reverfionary grant of the Bifhoprick of *Brescia*, which your Predecessor, *Julius III.* at the entreaty of the State of *Venice*, conferred on *Aloysius Priuli*, without one step taken on his part to obtain it. But as I am now informed of the death of Cardinal *Durante*, the late occupier of that See, I thought it my duty to present to your Holiness a petition in favour of such a Friend, which I never did for myself, to any of your Predecessors, and to beg of you, that what is already fallen to him by right of reversion, may be confirmed in consideration of his merit, and because he has, many years, been looked on as the Successor to that Bifhoprick, to the great and general satisfaction of the Inhabitants. No one is better acquainted than myself, from a long and unreserved intimacy, with his learning, probity and religion, which are truly becoming the dignity he is called to. I have ever remarked in him, besides other virtues becoming this Station, an uncommon love of God and Mankind, and a contempt of whatever, in the false estimate of the World, is chiefly sought after and valued. Besides other instances of this generosity of mind, he has given this illustrious one, that whereas he was descended of one of the noblest families of his Country, and saw the road to honours and preferments open to him, he made no account of these advantages, but accompanied me, above twenty years, in banishment and the greatest dangers, was partaker of all I suffered, and lived with me in such manner as not to give the least suspicion of ambition or the love of lucre.

“ I PLEAD his cause with your Holiness with so much less reserve, as I am conscious that I have no other view but the service of my Maker and the utility of a large Province; for, as to myself, if you pay a regard to the desire of the People of *Brescia*,
to

to the request of the *Venetians*, and to my petition, I foresee it must be attended with the loss of the society of a Friend, on which, for many reasons, I set the highest value.

But, perhaps, you may ask, who I am, who presume to give such an evidence in favour of one who is impeached by the Inquisitors? to which I answer, that I am the person, who from a long and intimate acquaintance with the party concerned, ought to be credited preferably to all others: I, who of all People, have cause to be at enmity with Hereticks, having never suffered any one calamity of the many which have fallen to my share, of which they were not the Authors, and for the Catholic Religion only.

But it may be replied, in case I myself am impeached of the same crime, of what weight can my evidence be? and the answer is ready, that I ought to be so much more credited than my Accusers, as the conspicuous actions I have performed in the cause of Religion should outweigh their discourses who dare not produce either words or facts against me, because they are at a loss for either.

If it be further urged that I am not only impeached, but found guilty; I well understand what this means; and was informed of it, for the first time, when Cardinal *Moron*, whom every one knows to be my particular friend, on the like suspicions, was taken into custody; and afterwards, when I was given to conjecture my own case, by being deprived of the Legantine jurisdiction.

What, therefore shall I say? in the first place, that I ought to lay a greater stress on your own declaration, than on any appearances, and the reports of others. By this you signified to the English Ambassador, and to the Messengers I sent to Rome, that, whatever you had done, in this affair had not proceeded from any offence taken at me; but, as your Holiness and the King of *England* were at war, and you had recalled your Legates from his other Dominions, you did not think proper to exempt

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE

this Realm from the general regulation; and as you was pleased to assign this reason for abrogating my authority, though the case of this Nation be different from that of any other, I did not presume to interpret your orders in any other sense, than that in which yourself was pleased to explain them.

"A SHORT time after, when on your reconciliation with the King, your Legates were sent to his other Dominions, and Cardinal *Caraffa*, your Brother's son, to his Majesty; though the English Ambassador entreated you to restore me to my Legantine functions, on the part of the Queen, the Bishops and both Houses of Parliament, and delivered her Majesty's Letters on this subject; your Holiness would not come to any explicit declaration, and, at length, as I am informed, have suffered a report to prevail, that I am found guilty and condemned.

"How am I here to interpret your Holiness's mind? am I to conclude you signified it to the Ambassador, when, on his pressing the affair, you answered, it belonged to a higher Court? for when you declared yourself in this manner, without granting what he asked, you seemed to say, that you acted in compliance with what piety and your duty to the supreme Being required of you.

"Does Almighty God, therefore, require that a Parent should slay his child? Once, indeed, he gave this precept, when he commanded *Abraham* to offer in sacrifice his son *Isaac*, whom he tenderly loved, and through whom all the promises made to the Father were to be accomplished. And what are now the preparations your Holiness is making, but so many fore-runners of the sacrifice of my better life, that is, of my reputation? for, in how wretched a sense must that Pastor be said to live, who has lost with his Flock the credit of an upright belief? And that this is the death you have reserved me, I see much more clearly than the Son of the Patriarch seemed to understand his Father's design, when perceiving every thing prepared for the Whole-burnt-offering, but the Victim, he asked where that was? But I, who see the

the fire and the sword in your hands, and all the other preparations made, instead of asking, where the Victim is, should put this question to you, why you permit yourself to be deceived by groundless suspicions, and are ready, on a false appearance of Religion, to put to death a Son, whom you once loved? I am not conscious of any thing that could have caused a change in your affection; but of many which should endear me more to you, having at length, through God's grace, accomplished, the work, to the joy of the whole Church and the honour of the Holy See, which you always seemed to hope from me.

Is this sword of anguish, with which you are about to pierce my soul, the return I am to receive for all these services? If you act, indeed, in this manner that you may satisfy what you owe to duty, all I shall say is, may God accept the sacrifice. Yet still I trust he will no more permit you to proceed than he did the Patriarch to kill his Son.

This whole transaction recalls to my remembrance that in my younger years, when I received the Cardinalate, and as the custom is, lay prostrate before the Altar, I said to the Pope who conferred the dignity on me, that I delivered myself, as a Victim, to him; but I little imagined I should be put to this trial, a second time; especially as the Bishop of Rochester had been substituted in my place, as the Ram, whose horns were entangled in the brambles, was in that of Isaac, and died without metaphor.

I CANNOT, however, but hope that the same Power which on this occasion, withheld the Patriarch's arm, will, when the seasonable time comes, exert itself also in my defence; nor in mine alone, but in that of Cardinal Moron * and Priuli; for your Holiness's hand is lifted up against us all.

* This excellent Person was confined by the Pope's orders, in the Prison of the Inquisition, on a groundless surmise of keeping a correspondence with the German Lutherans. He had no difficulty to clear himself, and the Pope let

him know, he might go out of prison. This he refused, unless he had justice done in a public manner, which was the reason that this affair was not ended till the following Pontificate.

C c 2.

“ You

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE

" You must allow me, holy Father, to pursue the allusion by which I have presumed to represent my own case; and to say, I now see not one Messenger, as in the case of *Isaac*, but many, who withhold your hand, armed with depositions, as with a destroying weapon, against me. *Philip* and *Mary*, Catholick Princes and Defenders of the Faith: several Persons of eminent worth interpose themselves in my favour. But in this cause, neither I, nor my friends who lie under the same accusations, seek the aid even of such Protectors to approve and defend our innocence; and we hold the same language to your Holiness which *Moses* did to the Almighty, who promised him the guidance of a celestial Spirit to protect him and his People against their Enemies, and lead them into the promised land, *Unless you, yourself go before us, do not bring us out of this place*; Unless your Holiness be our Advocate against our Slanderers and extricate us from these difficulties, we ask no foreign assistance: for if you are not pleased to do us this justice, the adverse Party is too powerful to be overcome by any other succour.

" I AM already informed by what steps the enemy begins to triumph in this Realm, especially with respect to those proceedings which have been carried on against myself. For whereas I had gathered together my scattered flock chiefly by my own invariable adherence to that faith which I exhorted them to embrace; as soon as it was rumoured that my rectitude in that belief was questioned, the Enemies of that cause thought they had by this means, an opportunity of calling off the Sheep to a greater distance from the voice of the Shepherd. Your Holiness alone can defeat this purpose: as to the assaults which are made on us, although the justice of our cause ought, at your Tribunal, to be an over-match to all slander, and secure the People committed to our care, from danger, we desire to refer the victory to the goodness of the Supreme Being, and, under that, to yourself.

" THE sum therefore, holy Father, of my petition is, that
you,

you, who represent on earth the person of our Lord and Redeemer, would likewise imitate the manner, in which he treats those whom he loves; and as He, sometimes, *leads them into the depth of distress*, that he may make trial of their fidelity, and, having found them worthy of himself, *brings them back to the day of peace and serenity*, you would do the same by us. No extremity can be greater than that in which we are already cast, when you suffer the Belief of those who are entrusted with the care of others to be suspected. Whatever, therefore, may have been the causes of this proceeding, you cannot fail of acting a part becoming your high station, if, when the affair is cleared up, and our innocence proved, you *bring us back*, as the Prophet expresses himself, *to the regions of light and comfort*; in which you will, at the same time, consult the honour of the Holy See and your own, and maintain our reputation and that of the sacred College. That your Holiness may act in this manner we will not cease to pray to the Almighty, and for your preservation and happiness.

Greenwich
30th March
1558.

* R. Poli, Epist. pars 5^a. pag. 31.

There is something too uncommon in this Pope's character not to give the Reader the entertainment, and, if he pleases, the instruction of it; as nothing can represent in a more striking light the waste which a Ruling Passion may make in the greatest minds, and not only blast all their good qualities, but render them destructive. It will, likewise, throw a great light on what has been said of this Pontiff's malevolence to the English CARDINAL, which seems in great measure, to have been founded in this Passion, and in the total opposition of dispositions, which was caused by it.

PAUL IV. was descended, as has been said, from the *Caraffa* family in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and was born

in 1476. His education was suited to the nobility of his extraction, and he not only excelled in sacred literature, but ever preserved a reputation clear from the least suspicion of vice. He was initiated in Ecclesiastical discipline under the care of Cardinal *Oliver Caraffa*, his Uncle, a person of merit, with whom he passed some years of his youth at *Rome*. On the death of this Nobleman, he went to *Spain*, where *Ferdinand*, on account of his uncommon probity, honoured him with his friendship, and made him one of the Council of State. He continued in the same post under *Charles V.* though not in an equal degree of honour and confidence; for *Charles*, who was a young man, did not make the same account of that rigid virtue

I HAVE given the Reader this letter at length, as a proof of the LEGATE'S friendship having been proof to all trials; and as it shews his concern for the Public; and the decent freedom

virtue which had been so highly valued by his Grandfather; for this reason, he immediately obeyed Adrian IV. who invited him to Rome; but this Pope dying soon after, and Caraffa being displeased at the licentiousness of those times, he resigned the Archbishopric of Theate in the Kingdom of Naples, which Julius II. Adrian's successor, on account of his rare merit, had conferred on him, and entered the order of Regular Clerks lately founded, who from the City of which he had been Bishop, were called Theatines. He lived several years with his new Associates, at Venice, in such a manner as to rise in the reputation he had before attained; for which Paul III. in 1533, called him to Rome, and, against his will, created him Cardinal.

In this post he continued the same course of life he had hitherto held, and, during twenty years, was a Pattern of a blameless Prelate and an upright Counsellor. His vote was so little subservient to party or the private inclinations of the Pope, that he resisted Paul III. though he had made him Cardinal, with great constancy; and being requested by Julius III. to consent to his Brother's adopted son being honoured with the purple, he excused himself, by a note, from coming to the Consistory, where the affair was to be carried, or voting for it, or having any concern in it. The same liberty of speech and sentiment appeared on all other occasions: he maintained with vigour the authority of the Holy See, the dignity of the Priesthood, and the integrity of the Christian Religion, and when

encroachments were made on them, he placed himself in the breach. On Julius' death he gave a great specimen of generosity in promoting the election of Marcellus II. though four and twenty years younger than himself; which added such eminence to his former character, that, on this Pope's death, which happened a few days after, he was chosen to succeed him.

BUT these great qualities were vitiated by a fierce and obstinate temper, a haughty and aspiring disposition, and a mind incapable of yielding to opposition, and greedy, above measure, of command. "Cæterum his tot virtutibus inerat ingenium ferox et pervicax, et elatus animus vastusque, et adversantibus nesciens cedere, prorsusque imperii nimius." *Gratiani, de cas. Vir. illus. pag. 316.* This gave rise to the perpetual enmity between him and Charles V. and his Son Philip, which was inflamed by the fraud and selfish views of those who had his confidence, and, at length, broke out into open war. Besides an inclination to the French faction at Naples, which the Caraffa family had always discovered, the Pope had contracted an aversion to Charles, whilst he was at the Court of Spain. When the French army was cut off at the Siege of Naples, his Family had suffered every kind of hardship from the victorious Spaniards. The Pope himself, when he was Archbishop of Theate, had been excluded, without any sufficient cause, from the Council of State; and, afterwards, when Paul III. nominated him to the See of Naples, he was a long time kept out of possession. After the death of this Pontiff

which he used with his Superiors; and, above all the rest, that perpetual attention to the cause of virtue and religion, by which he regulated, and to which he referred every thing else,

till the whole weight of Spanish influence was employed to hinder him of the Popedom, and the same practised again at the decease of *Julius*. At length, in opposition to all their efforts, he was raised to that supreme dignity in an extreme old age, being in his eightieth year, and for that reason alone less formidable to his Adversaries.

THE Spaniards could not but suspect a person, to whom they had done so many ill services, and who, before his elevation, had given such signs of his dispositions towards them, as were by no means equivocal. He had accused the Emperor in public Confistory of favouring the Lutheran Heresy from political views; and though, when there was occasion, he had treated the French with the same freedom, yet the Spaniards highly resented this speech; and when *Charles's* Ambassador complained of the affront offered their Master, he was so far from making an Apology, that his answer was more exasperating than his first discourse. He had already spoke of his design to drive the Spaniards out of *Naples*. When *Charles V.* resigned the Empire to his Brother, he refused to ratify the cession, as being made without his consent, which those who were skilled in the Pontifical and Imperial Laws asserted to have been necessary. And when *Ferdinand's* Ambassadors came to pay him the accustomed homage, he obstinately refused to receive them, or to confirm his title.

He was no sooner made Pope but the mutual animosities he and the Court of *Madrid* had long entertained, began

to declare themselves. The Spanish Ambassador, who had been often refused Audience, presenting himself abruptly to the Pope whilst he was at table, He commanded him to depart his presence; and if he did not, the title of *Philip's* Ambassador should avail him little. Being reduced to the greatest extremities after the battle of *St. Quintin's*, and almost a Prisoner in *Rome* itself, he was obliged to make peace: yet even then, vanquished as was, he exerted the same spirit he had always shewn, and seemed to give, rather than accept the conditions of agreement; one of which was, that the Duke of *Alva*, who commanded the Spanish army, and had plundered the Pope's territories and laid siege to his Capital, should present himself before him in the posture of a suppliant and ask pardon on his knees.

His mind seemed rather exultant with the bad success of the war than soothed with its conclusion. When he was yet Cardinal, as *Luther's* errors had not only overspread Germany, but threatened Italy, he had prevailed on *Pope III.* to set up the Inquisition at *Rome*, and himself was placed at the head of it. He exercised this office with a severity which raised complaints, to which he paid little regard, and was never known to have shewn any favour, by whomsoever beseeched. A melancholy instance of the abuse to which this Tribunal is liable, increased the public uneasiness, and aversion to it. One of those who are employed to bring in informations, had endeavored to asperse the greatest and best men in *Rome*, and had not spared the most

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE

THE end proposed by the foregoing letter was of too much importance not to deserve that every measure should be made use of, by which it might be gained. The LEGATE, there-

most eminent members of the sacred College. His villainy, indeed, was at last detected, and ended in his own destruction, (*R. Poli, Epist. pars 4. pag. 101*). And now, since *Paul's* Pontificate, the prisons were every day crowded with unhappy wretches, of all sorts, and a general hatred of the present administration, and a fear of still greater evils took up every one's mind.

BUT nothing inflamed the public indignation so much as the arrogance and profligateness of his Brother's sons; the eldest of whom, *Charles Caraffa*, when he was Cardinal, on account of his disorders, he had forbid his sight. But being raised to the Papacy, the Nephew, by an artful hypocrisy, had so insinuated himself into his Uncle's good graces, that he often said to his Friends, he was thankful to Heaven for this signal reformation in so near a Relation: In consequence of this good opinion, he made him his chief Minister and created him Cardinal, though he had always lived in the licentiousness of camps, and had not one quality either of a Clergyman, a Christian, or a man of probity. He enriched, also, *John*, the second Brother, with the Duchy of *Paliano* and other estates, which were confiscated from the *Colonna* family, for having sided with the Spaniards; and gave *Anthony* his third Nephew, the territories which were taken from the Count of *Balneo*, on a like subject. These three Brothers, though dissimilar in their vices, were equally the object of universal hatred, and though they disagreed in other respects, they observed an inviolable con-

cord in keeping each others disorders secret from their Uncle, and not suffering any person to approach him, from whom they ran any risk of being discovered. Thus, while he was making laws and curbing public vice, he was a perfect stranger to what was going forward within his Palace and in his own family, which caused his own virtues and their faults to be equally odious.

WHEN the latter had exceeded all bounds, One, whose name has been concealed, had the courage to inform the Pope of them; and as the evidence was given so as to deserve credit, the Pope heard it with a suitable indignation, and it being late in the evening, he only then gave orders that none of his Relations should be admitted into his presence, and that the sacred College should meet the next day. Here, he reproached the Fathers with not informing him of what so nearly concerned the public good and his own reputation; though having been so wickedly betrayed by his own family, he said, he ought to pardon the silence of strangers. He then inveighed with great bitterness against the Guilty, and deprived Cardinal *Caraffa* of the government of *Bologna*, and all public charges; and *John* the second Brother, of the military command over the Papal forces throughout the whole Ecclesiastical state; and *Anthony*, the third, of the guard of the Palace; and commanded them, and all his other Relations, except Cardinal *Alfonso*, son of *Anthony Caraffa*, a young man universally esteemed, to leave *Rome* before night, and assigned to his Nephews.

fore, wrote at the same time and on the same subject to the Cardinal of *Trani*, who, by the letter seems to have had a great share in the Pope's confidence, and having laid before him the

phews the places of their banishment. The vehemence of his temper made him threaten with the severest treatment those who assisted them in any manner whatsoever; adding, they deserved a much more rigorous chastisement, which, by a denunciation that was fully verified, he said, he had reserved to his successor. He was endowed with great ease and gravity in speaking, and, when he was angry, his look alone was terrible. The two following instances are sufficient to shew the terror he struck in his Hearers on this occasion, and in all who were informed on what had passed. A Niece of the Pope came to *Rome*, that very day, having heard nothing of the disgrace of her family, and being excluded the Palace, nor received by the Nobility, could not get admittance into any of the public Inns, but was obliged to take up with the wretched entertainment of a lodging in the Suburbs. And Cardinal *Caraffa*, who was grievously sick at *Marino*, the place of his banishment, having sent to *Rome* for the help of Physicians, none durst attend him, or even mention his case to the Pope. After this signal act of justice, he took off the taxes and other burdens which, without his knowledge, the Brothers had laid on the People, and deprived all who had been promoted by them, of their Posts. He survived these Reforms only five months, and being near his end, he prepared himself for it with great attention, and received all the sacred Rites with a singular sense of Religion: After which, the Cardinals being admitted to give him the last marks of their duty, he exhorted them, as

PART II.

they stood round his bed, to chuse a person to succeed him whom they judged worthy that supreme post, and who was best qualified to recall the decayed discipline of Christianity to its primitive vigour. The severity to which he had long inured his mind, did not leave him in his latest moments, and having collected all his strength to make a panegyrick on the Inquisition, which he judged necessary in those circumstances, he expired.

His death was no sooner conjectured rather than known, but the joy it caused was so universal, that the People of *Rome* left off all business and met in the Capitol. Here, their hatred being now no longer under any restraint, they immediately came to a resolution, that all statues and monuments of the late Pope and his Family should be effaced: and being now in the first transports with which the novelty of freedom, and rage and revenge intoxicate the multitude, they made an onset on that statue which themselves had erected at the beginning of the Pontificate, at their own expence, and having pulled it from the pedestal, and broke it to pieces, they rolled the head about the streets, and dragged it through the kennels, with every kind of insult and mockery, till some persons more considerate than the rest, being shocked with the indignity of such a sight, threw it into the Tyber. The next object of their fury were the prisons, which they broke open and released the Criminals; and coming to that of the Inquisition, where some Hereticks, or Persons accused of being so,

D d

were

Sept. 15th
1559.

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE

difficulties under which the public cause and his own reputation laboured, desires his interest in order to remove them. "I have written, says he, to the Pope on a subject, of which your Lordship may inform yourself by the copy of the letter I send you; but because I have always known you very zealous for his Holiness's honour, and very equitable to myself, it is proper I should give you a more direct information of it. The case, indeed, seems to require a Mediator of this character, to bring it to such an issue as the public utility stands in need of; though to be plain, nothing less than the hand of God can cause the scandals to cease, which are already caused in part, and others with which the Nation is still threatened. I have informed his Holiness, that I am by no means at a loss to clear myself, could this justification suppress the offence which the English Church has taken at the late proceedings: this, which I have more at heart than any other consideration, causes my solicitude; for having in great measure prevailed on my Country to embrace the doctrine they had forsaken, by my own constancy in it, what must they think, if they continue to hear that I am suspected on this head by the chief Bishop himself? For though his Holiness, for any thing I

were detained, they set them at liberty. But in this latter proceeding, a regularity was observed, which is seldom the attendant of popular tumults; for the People, to shew they acted not on any disregard to Religion, but from hatred to the late Pontiff, exacted of every one they set free an oath to adhere, for the future, to the Church of Rome, and submit to her authority. I shall finish what I had to say on this subject by an instance of the dread which the bare idea of Paul IV. had left on the minds of his Subjects: In the height of these Bacchanalian riots a rumour was spread, that the Pope was

yet alive and in a fair way of recovery: on this, every thing was immediately quieted, and the only concern of each one was to screen and save himself.

If the Reader desires to be informed in a greater detail of this Pope's character, and the fate of his three Nephews, he may find it in *Gratiani*, Bishop of *Amelia*, a Cotemporary Writer, in his treatise *de Casibus illustrium virorum*, under the title, *de Carolo Caraffa Cardinale, et Joanne Paliani Duce, Fratribus*, related with a freedom and eloquence equal to any part of the Greek or Roman History. *Folitta*, *Castaldi* and others have also wrote this Pope's life.

know

know to the contrary, has not yet openly declared himself, yet while he acts in this manner, and suffers legal procedures to be carried on, which easily persuade others that these are his sentiments, you cannot but see, my Lord, how fatal a stumbling-block this must be, and in whose power it is to remove it. But of this I shall say no more, but wait his Holiness's decision. In the mean time, as there are not wanting many persons of integrity who blame me much for being silent, when the welfare of my Country is at stake, I defend myself by the example of that holy man *Basil*, whose piety and learning have deservedly gained him the surname of *Great*, and in whose works your Lordship is remarkably conversant. When envious and ill-designing persons had spread slanders concerning his orthodoxy, and his Friends were earnest with him to write something in his own defence; he made this reply, that if his past conduct did not satisfy his brethren of the rectitude of his sentiments, he had nothing further to alledge; for how can I expect, says he, that a short treatise will prevail on those, whom the evidence of so much experience has not persuaded? Whether I have a right to make use of the same form of speech, you, my Lord, who are acquainted with a great part of my life, may determine.

"I HAVE, hitherto, by my own choice, imitated the forbearance of this holy man, but whether I am to imitate him in writing and defending myself, depends on his Holiness: for the same great Doctor, when he had been silent for a time, and, at last, thought himself obliged to shut the mouth of slander, writes in this manner; "as yet, I have held my peace, but shall I always do so, and give occasion to have my silence brought an evidence against me? Nor can I think any other behaviour will become me, especially as the inferences drawn from my not speaking in such a cause will be more to my disadvantage than any thing my Accusers can object to me. But whether I am to pursue this method or not, depends, as I have said, wholly on the Pope, who,

by his authority, may silence slander, and to the great comfort, of all good men, put an end to scandals.

“If I stand in particular need of comfort, and expect it from his Holiness, no less than St. *Austin*, the Apostle of *England*, from St. *Gregory*; I am conscious to myself of a like diligence and good will in procuring the emolument of the Christian Cause in this Kingdom, which St. *Austin* exerted; and I exert it in more difficult circumstances, as I every day experience that it is a work less laborious to in form untaught minds, than to unteach those who have imbibed erroneous doctrines. But enough on this subject: all that remains is, that we join in our common petitions to the Almighty, that he would be pleased to dispose all things for the advantage of his Church; the reputation of the Holy See, and the honour of the sacred College, of which I am a member.”

Greenwich
30th March
1558.

This is the last mention we find of this affair: whether the Pope's anger was appeased at so reasonable a remonstrance, and innocence pleaded with so much temper; or whether the Queen's authority, the circumstances of the English nation, and the short time the LEGATE survived, hindered any further prosecution, is uncertain. The CARDINAL continued to exercise his Legantine jurisdiction, and one of his Historians says, the Pope put off the final decision of the cause; another, that he dissembled his resentment*. But whatever were the Pontiff's views, the LEGATE'S Christian simplicity and moderation, at such a crisis, have few examples. The establishment of the Catholic Religion and his own reputation in so nice a point were not able to make him swerve in any single instance from the deference he owed to a superior Power, though it pursued his innocence, dignity, and

* Pontifex Reginae literis precibusque et Poli satisfactione acceptis, non quidem eum absolvit, sed Britannicarum rerum, ac Maria gratia, causae cognitionem distulit. *Gratiani*, p. 227.

Iracundiam multo ante conceptam dissimulavit. *Poli vita*, fol. 36. a tergo.

merit, with repeated acts of enmity. He had wrote a treatise in his own justification, but looking over the performance, says the Writer of his life, and perceiving it would be unfavourable to the Pope's reputation, he threw it into the fire, and repeated those words of Deuteronomy, *non revelabis verenda Patris tui*.

It may seem something extraordinary that a person of the Bishop of *Amelia's* discernment, should pass the following judgment on the facts I have related; "that the CARDINAL's impeachment, and the repeal of the Legantine jurisdiction, though it lessened nothing of his power and authority in *England*, yet it seems to have impaired something of his dignity and fame, and to cast a certain shade round that glory he had before attained*."

But, sure; whoever considers the injustice of his sufferings, and his behaviour under them, must confess they set his character in a more illustrious light than the most uninterrupted felicity could have done, and gave him an opportunity of exerting the rarest and most difficult virtues, those which are tried by adversity.

THE Emperor *Charles V.* died about the time I am speaking of, and the various connexions he had with CARDINAL POLE, ever since he was engaged in public life, which we have seen through this work, require that something should be said of him in this place. He had already left a world, which he had never suffered to be at rest, nor enjoyed tranquillity in it, till he resigned his states to a Son still more designing, though less active than himself. He was master of those qualities, on which the vanity of Mankind has been pleased to raise greatness of character in Sovereigns: and may justly be placed amongst those, of whom one, who was qualified to make such an estimate, says, *the eyes*

21st Sept.
1558.

* *Ceterum, hæc et nominis delatio, et ablata Legationis nota, ut potentiam POLO nihil imminuit, ita dignitatem famamque apud suos non nihil labefactasse,*

et magnitudini et gloriæ ejus nescio quid nubis obduxisse visâ est. Gratiani, de casibus Virorum illustrium, pag. 227.

of

Prov. ch.
17. v. 24.

Ecclesiast.
ch. 33.
v. 5.

of a Fool are on the extremities of the earth * : for he informed the states of *Burgundy* assembled at the ceremony of his abdication, that since the seventeenth year of his age, he had made nine expeditions into *Germany*; six into *Spain*; seven into *Italy*; four into *France*; ten into the *Netherlands*; two into *England*; as many into *Africa*; and had crossed the Sea eleven times †. After which restless agitation, in which he equally verified in his own person, a comparison of another Author, as little favourable to the senseless projects of Ambition as him I have quoted, that *a Fool's heart is like the Wheel of a Wain, which is always in motion*; he finished his days in a Monastery situated in the delightful plains of *Estramadura*.

A Writer of great repute supposes he was guided in this extraordinary step by the example of several great Personages of Royal rank, at the head of whom he places *Dioclesian*, "the best of Princes, says he, if we set aside the wrongs which the prejudices of Paganism caused him to do the Christians. This Prince having governed the Empire twenty years with the most consummate virtue and prudence, resigned it, and led a private life at *Spalatro* in *Dalmatia*; in which retreat the culture of his gardens was his chief satisfaction ‡."

THE Reader may perceive the Author dwells with a particular complacence on the subject of this Emperor; for though he mentions other Princes, who had likewise retired from the

* Oculis stulti in finibus terræ. Edit. Vulg.

† Strada, de bello belgico, Decadis 1^{re}. L. 1. pag. 7.

‡ Nec deerant Exempla atque imprimis *Diocletiani*, longè optimi Imperatoris, si ea excipias, quæ ille Genti-

lium errore deceptus, in Christianos peccavit: qui post administratum virtute summâ ac prudentiâ totos xx annos imperium, eo se abdicavit, anno Christi 308, et *Saloniæ* in *Dalmatiâ* vitam horum culturâ delectans, privatus transiit . . . His et aliis exemplis confirmatus *Cæsar*, &c. *Thuanus*, Lib. 15. pag. 506. D.

administration

administration of public affairs, he only gives the Reader a list of their names, except of one French King; and is so wild as to suppose that *Charles V.* in his retreat, was chiefly influenced by the example of *Dioclesian*. I do not chuse to assign the cause of a turn of mind, which makes men in all other respects capable of forming the most correct judgment of Persons and Actions, then only fall into perverseness and folly, when it depreciates the Christian cause, and sets off to advantage her most declared enemies. Of this, *Thuanus* has here given a memorable instance: for *this best of Emperors* is represented both by Christian and Pagan Writers, some of whom were his Contemporaries, as having exhausted the Roman Provinces by taxes, and being given to a destructive extravagance in building, and extreme vanity in his dress; of rapaciousness and the most sordid avarice; of cruelty and an impious arrogance, which went so far as to cause himself to be treated as a God: not to say any thing of the wrongs he did to the whole body of the Christians, and the numbers he put to death, and some, by the most exquisite torments.

THESE Authors accuse him also of having multiplied the Provinces of the Empire, not by the conquest of new, but by a division of the ancient; and, by this means to have burdened the state with an incredible addition of Civil and Military employments; and to have weakened the strength of *Rome* by reducing the Militia, and exposed the Empire to danger*.

A VERY fine Genius and Judge of human nature seems to have looked on this retreat of *Charles V.* as the effect of a restless temper, rather than the result of a mind weaned from the world and fixed on the love and attainment of a better; and introduces him as much taken up, in the solitude of St. *Just*, with his Son's projects as he had formerly been with his own†: Another Writer,

* *Laet. de mort. Pers. Euseb. chro. Aurel. Vic. Eutro. Spart. Theop. la Marca.*

† *Fenelon, Dialogues des Morts, Tom. 2. Dial. xi.*

who

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE

who is very partial to him, and to the House of *Austria*, describes his amusements in his retirement as fitter to divert a school-boy, than to dignify the retreat of a great Prince. It is true, he says, he left them off in great measure before he died *, and the general tenour of the last part of his life deserves our praise, and, perhaps, our admiration.

THE death of the Queen of *England* happened soon after that of the Emperor. She was fallen into a declining state of health, which proceeded from uneasiness of mind no less than a bad habit of body. Her Physicians had mistaken a dropsy for the symptoms of Pregnancy, and brought on the disorder instead of removing it. The victory we had gained at St. *Quintin's* did not hinder the French, a few months after, from taking *Calais*, the scanty remains of all our possessions on the continent. She was so sensible of this loss as to say, was her body to be opened after her death, that Town would be found engraved on her heart. The death of the Emperor, who was her nearest Relation by the Mother's side, and who had been her friend in her day of distress, though it made no change in the affairs of *Europe*, wrought on her; as every pressure is a casting weight when the scale is turned. Another subject of a more delicate nature, the absence of her Husband, is said to have wasted her spirits and brought on a slow fever, of which she died on the 17th of *November*, 1558, in the forty-third year of her age.

As most of our modern Historians have either not allowed or misrepresented the laudable qualities of this Princess; or passed them over in silence, and dwelt, at large, on the failings of her Government, it is no more than common equity to say, on this subject, what cannot be questioned with truth, or be concealed without malignity. I shall not repeat the several particulars I have had occasion to relate in other parts of this work,

* *Strada* de bel. Bel. Dec. 1^a. Lib. 1.

and

and which the Reader has seen in their respective places. And because the candour of Protestant Historians has fully justified the much injured character of this Princess, I shall content myself with copying it from these Originals, and almost in their own words.

HER private life was always strict and unblemished, and the duties of Religion were the great concern to which she referred every thing else; and a future life in her estimate overballancing the present, she set Conscience above a Crown; and when the former was at stake, used no equivocation, but was what she appeared to be, without disguising her belief or practice, either through fear or flattery. On the same Christian Principle, she allowed herself few of those diversions which abound in the Palaces of the Great, was regular in her devotions, and endeavoured to expiate and atone for the sacrileges of the two last Reigns. Next to this pious and religious demeanour to her Maker, her compassion for the Poor, and liberality and munificence to the decayed Nobility and Churchmen, were most remarkable: of which these are a few instances, among many others: She restored the Duke of *Somerset's* son to blood; gave back the estates seized by her Father and Brother, remitted the subsidies passed in the last reign, and erected anew the Bishoprick of *Durham*. How far she was from a sanguinary disposition appears from the almost universal pardon granted to those who were engaged in that dangerous and capital Rebellion, in the beginning of her Reign; in her restraining the *Præmunire* Act, which her Father had extended both as to persons and cases; and repealing all offences which had been made felony since the first year of *Henry VIII*. Besides these salutary laws, she made others for the encouragement of Husbandry and the Woollen Manufactory; and would have been, as one of the Writers I have mentioned expresses *Fuller*. himself, worthy of our highest commendations, had as few

acts of cruelty been done under her Reign as were done by her*."

THE Queen's death preceded that of CARDINAL POLE'S but by a very short interval. He was taken with a quartan Ague, which, every day, impaired his strength and reminded him of the end, to which he was hastening. He regulated what he would have done in case of death, with the same prudence and tranquillity, which had appeared in his other actions, and made a Will, in which, besides other instances of his piety and religion, he declares his attachment and filial obedience to the Church of Rome, and to the supreme Bishop of it. He takes notice, that he had ever respected the present Pope, *Paul IV.* as a Father, before he was raised to the Pontificate; and, since, had always promoted his honour; and in all the embassies which he had performed for the Apostolic See, and his other employments, he was not conscious to himself of having had any thing in view, but the dignity and advantage of the Christian cause:—That, he now with all reverence, asked his Holiness's blessing, and wished him peace and safety and every comfort. He mentions, with a peculiar signification of good will, *Henry Pening*, whom he styles his Chamberlain and Receiver-General, and says he was perfectly

* *Collier*, Eccles. Hist. Vol. 2. B. 6. pag. 406. *Camden's* Introduction to the Annals of Queen Elizabeth. *Echard*, pag. 327. Sir *R. Baker*, under the title of the Queen's personage and conditions. *Fuller*, Church Hist. Book 8. pag. 42.

Notwithstanding what I have here related from Writers of the Church of England, Dr. *Burnet* affirms (Hist. Ref. part 3. pag. 268.) "that it does not appear that there was any one great or good design ever set on foot for the wealth or glory of the Nation, during this Princess's reign." But this Writer

could bestow praise and obloquy just as it suited his purpose; and, through the Chaos of his History of the Reformation, the Reader may apply to him what *Virgil* says of *Dido* expiring in the agonies of suicide,

Oculis errantibus, alto
Quæsit coelo lucem, ingemuitque re-
pertâ.

Thrice op'd her heavy eyes, and sought
the Light,

But, having found it, sicken'd at the sight.

well

well acquainted with all his concerns, and would be of great use to his Executor. He names, likewise, the following persons, *Nicholas Heath*, Archbishop of *York* and Chanchellor of *England*, *Thomas*, Bishop of *Ely*; and his beloved Kinsman, *Edward Hastings*, Chamberlain to her Majesty; *Mr. Boxal*, her Majesty's Secretary; *Mr. Edward Walgrave*, Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*; *Mr. Cordel*, Master of the Rolls; and *Mr. Henry Cole*, his Vicar-General; and desires them to assist the Lord *Priuli* in the Executorship, and bequeaths fifty pounds to each. He appoints this Nobleman his sole Heir and Executor, desiring him to pay a few legacies, and to give to each of his household, who had followed him out of foreign Countries, what he judged their merit and services entitled them to*.

THIS generous friend informed the CARDINAL, he would very willingly take on himself the Executorship, and distribute his effects as he should be pleased to direct; but would take no part of the inheritance: and on the CARDINAL's insisting on his acceptance of something that might be a memorial of the lasting friendship they had bore each other, *Priuli* replied, that from the beginning of their acquaintance, he had other advantages in view, and had already reaped them from his example and society: and all he accepted of so considerable an Inheritance was two prayer-books, which the frequent use his friend had made of them, had rendered valuable.

THE honour due to a friendship, of which, perhaps, there is no other instance, and which equally redounds to the credit of both, well deserves, that, besides what has been occasionally said in different parts of this Work, I should here give the Reader a further account of a person who was joined to our illustrious Countryman by the strictest intimacy and benevolence.

* Testamentum CARD. POLI ex Cod. M. S. Bibliothecæ Ambrosianæ.

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE

ALOYSIUS PRIULI was a Venetian Nobleman, and having, as has been related, contracted a familiarity with young POLE when they were both Students at the University of *Padua*, was so charmed with his uncommon merit, that, from that time, he never after left him. The rank which his Family held in the Republic, and his personal accomplishments, entitled him to the highest expectations both in his own country and at *Rome*; all which he undervalued, that he might be the constant Attendant on a Foreigner in his embassies, voyages and labours, and partake in all the good which his friend either designed or performed; and being a person of singular address, was every where very useful to him. The Senate of *Venice* having named him among the four, out of whom *Paul III.* was to chuse a Successor to the Bishop of *Brescia*, the Pope nominated *Priuli*, with the greatest commendation of his virtue and abilities. But it was with extreme difficulty that his Friends and Relations prevailed on him to accept of this reversionary grant, lest the Incumbent's death, who was very old, should oblige him to separate himself from the LEGATE *. *Thuanus* reports, that he refused the Purple for the same reason. He survived his illustrious Friend only twenty months, which he employed in collecting his effects which were dispersed in various places, and disposing of them with a fidelity equal to the confidence reposed in him.

THE CARDINAL having made his Will in this manner, and his disease still increasing, he wrote to the Queen some time before his death, the following letter †: " I desire your Grace should be informed that though the length and vehemence of my distemper be such as might justify my casting aside all cares of this world, and transferring my thoughts on that, into which I am now going to enter, yet I think it a duty to leave all Persons satisfied with my behaviour,

* *Poli vita*, pag. 37.
 † Published by *T. Hearne*, *Oxf.* 1716. pag. 122, from the MS. Col. of *T. Smyth*.
 and,

and, above all others, your Grace, whom it has pleased Almighty God to place in so exalted a station. For which reason I send you the Dean of *Worcester*, my Chaplain, whose fidelity I have long approved, and entreat your Grace to give credit to whatever he shall say on my behalf. I make no doubt but you will be satisfied with it, and I beg of Almighty God to prosper you to his honour, your own comfort, and the welfare of this Realm."

4th Oct.
1558.

WHEN he had dictated this letter, he wholly called off his thoughts from all earthly concerns and fixed them on that blessed region which was now opening to his view.—He caused the Holy Scriptures and other books of piety to be read frequently to him, and professed he found a sensible refreshment from the meditation of these divine lessons; and received the Holy Eucharist with singular sentiments of devotion. Though the fever had reduced him to great weakness, he would, every day, assist at the holy sacrifice, which was offered up in his Apartment, and at the elevation of the Host would be raised on his Knees, to adore in that humble posture his own and the common Saviour of Mankind.

HE had frequent intelligence during his illness of the Queen's declining state, and besides the letter I have cited, frequent messages passed between them; and as her death could not long be concealed from him, he received the news of it with great steadiness, and began to discourse with a strength of voice and presence of mind which surprised All who were present, on the wonderful Providence of God in his dealings towards them both: he doubted not, he said, but that the same divine super-intendance which had hitherto watched over them, and made their lives have a great resemblance to each other, would likewise be pleased to put an end to them within the same day; and that a confidence in the same mercy made him trust an all-good and all-powerful Being would not entirely forsake his Country; and that he acquiesced, as he had always done, in His dispensations.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE

THE day before he died, of his own accord and without being reminded by any one, he desired to receive the Sacrament of the last Anointing, by which we are strengthened to withstand the last assault of our spiritual Enemies, to bear up against the weakness of nature, and die the death of the Righteous. And the Bishop of St. *Asaph*, who performed these Rites, related to the Author of his life, that, drawing towards his end, he asked with his usual sedateness, if the Ritual, which contains the recommendation of the departing soul, was at hand, and being answered it was and the book shewed him, it is now, says he, time to make use of it; and retaining his usual tranquillity to the last breath, he continued to speak and act in these moments as in all the past, and paid the great debt of nature in such a manner that his countenance and the composure of his whole person had rather the appearance of a gentle sleep than of death. He died on the morning of the 17th of *December*, 1558, two and twenty hours after the Queen, having lived fifty eight years and six months *.

HIS Body was put into a leaden Coffin and placed in a Chamber of *Lambeth* Palace, where he died, which was hung with black during forty days. An Altar was placed in the Apartment, and several Masses said every day for the repose of his Soul. After which his Corpse was conveyed to *Canterbury* with great funeral pomp, and met by all orders of the Citizens and the whole body of the Clergy, and at his Obsequies a Discourse in praise of the Deceased was made in Latin and English. He was buried, as he had desired, in *St. Thomas's* Chapel, with this short Epitaph, *Depositum Cardinalis Poli*, the remains of CARDINAL POLE.

I HAVE frequently had occasion to mention Cardinal *James Sadolet*, Bishop of *Carpentras*, and his connexions with CARDINAL POLE, and I shall conclude the History of the life of the latter, with a letter from *Paul Sadolet*, to the Lord *Priuli*, in which

Vita Poli, fol. 38, & seq.

he

he expresses his own sentiments and those of the Public on the CARDINAL's death. It was written six months after this incident, and is dated from *Carpentras*, in which Bishoprick he had succeeded his Uncle, who had been dead, as we have seen elsewhere, several years.

"I HAVE received your Lordship's letter, and with it the pledge of a friendship I set above all value, the remembrance which that incomparable man desired, on his death-bed, I should be assured of. This has renewed all the sorrows with which I heard the first rumours of his death, and the bare mention of it so oppresses me, that your Lordship must excuse the disorder and confusion in which I now write. We were informed last winter of this loss of the best of Men, from uncertain and different accounts, which were too soon confirmed with the circumstance of his dying on the same day with the Queen, and in such honour and tranquillity that Providence seems to have declared itself in his favour, by taking him out of this life before the changes which have since happened. We have heard of his sufferings, and of the manner in which he overcame the injuries the World did him; and of the invincible constancy, piety, and charity, with which he supported the weaknesses of others: But these relations were very imperfect on account of the distance of the places from whence they came, and because our friends at *Rome*, in the confusion of the late war, have been very sparing of their intelligence, though we often wrote to them, and pressed them on this head. On the whole, it appears with the greatest evidence, that he has confuted all those who would have depressed and slandered a character which was out of the reach of reproach, and has done it with such moderation as must change the hearts of his Adversaries, if they are capable of relenting, and be to us the most salutary of all lessons. This is particularly remarkable in the declaration of faith, which he makes in his last Will, which is no more than a confirmation of what he ever believed and professed.

.T.O.F.

BUT

“BUT what shall I say, my Lord, of the opinion he had of your merit, and the distinction with which he signified it? I don't know which of the two is to be accounted more fortunate, your Lordship in such a testimony of your virtue and integrity, or the LEGATE in such a Friend who deserved it. I have often read his Will in numerous Companies of persons of quality, in order to spread his reputation as wide as depends on me, and I have never been able to do it with dry eyes. I could say much more to the same purpose, but the revolutions which have happened in *Italy*, in the Country where he died, and elsewhere, are not suited to such a subject. I have nothing more to wish, than that when your Lordship has complied with the trust placed in you, we may meet and talk over these transactions without restraint, and share in each other's sorrows and comforts. In the mean time I shall ever cherish the memory of CARDINAL POLE, and pray to the Almighty, not so much for the repose of a Soul, which I make no doubt of being admitted into the joys of Heaven; as that I may deserve the honourable mention by which he thought fit both during life, and in his last moments, to rank me amongst his most valuable Friends*.”

4th July,
1559.

* Ex Col. Epist. Ital. Ber. Pini, l. 3.

SECT.

S E C T. XII.

The Character of CARDINAL POLE.

THE Life of CARDINAL POLE was a lesson of such universal instruction, that a review of it will be no less for the advantage of the Reader than for the honour of Him, who is the subject of the Work. I shall, therefore, draw, as it were, to one point, and represent in an uninterrupted view those particular virtues which distinguished the several parts of his, and which could not be related in the course of this History without too frequently interrupting the facts of which it is made up.

It may be proper to say something of his figure and habit of body, before we speak of the qualities of his mind. He was of a middle stature, and of a healthy rather than a robust constitution; though he was sometimes subject to a Catarrh, which fell on his arm and caused an inflammation in his right eye. His complexion was fair, mixed with an agreeable vermillion, and his beard and hair, in his youth, of a light colour; his countenance was open and serene, enlivened with a chearful and pleasant eye, the index of his mind, which was unsuspecting, honest and benevolent. He was very abstemious in his diet, and though he made two meals a day, he supped very sparingly. The command over his appetite was such, that no variety of meats and sauces could prevail on him to use any food but what he found by experience to agree with him; and those who eyed him narrowly, remarked that he eat less of dishes which were relishing and agreeable to his palate, than of others. His table was served with a plenty and elegance which became his Royal extraction, and the high stations, to which he gradu-

ally rose; and was open to the great number of noble and illustrious Guests, who every where resorted to him; and his Oeconomy had no other rule, than that his expences should not exceed his revenue. He slept but little and generally rose before day-light, and required so little attendance about his person, that he often rose from bed and drest himself without any one's help.

HE was of a thoughtful cast of mind, and such as inclined him more to study and contemplation than to the employments of public life, and he conversed but little even with the persons of his household; yet, in company, and at table particularly, he suited himself to the various tempers and callings of his Guests, and made use of the great insight he had in all branches of literature and all sorts of business, to make himself useful and agreeable to every one. This condescension was accompanied with such dignity as made him equally respected and beloved, and no one presumed to say or do any thing unbecoming, when he was present. Pope *Julius III.* was a remarkable instance of the strength of this impression, and used to say, that the bare presence of the Cardinals *Marcellus* and *POLE* was sufficient to cause him to behave and act as became his supreme station.

HIS conversation was sprightly and enlivened by frequent metaphors and allusions, which were always apposite to the subject from which they rose; and seemed to present themselves of their own accord; and they frequently occur in his writings. Several acute and facetious sayings were remarked in his discourse, and, amongst others the following, which shew the readiness with which he turned every thing to moral improvement; and though I am sensible of the disadvantage such relations lie under, and how much they lose of the life and agreeableness they receive from the Speaker, I cannot but repeat them. I remember says the Author of his life, that mention being made of a certain Prelate, who resided at *Rome*, and neglected his Diocese, and yet spoke very freely of others for doing so, he turned the
discourse

discourse by a pleasantry, and said, the Bishop did like those who eat Garlick not to be offended with its smell in others who did the same. Being told of a young man of parts and learning, who was too forward in giving his judgment; Learning, says he, in youth has the same effect as new wine in the Vat, which, at first, ferments, but being drawn off and having collected its strength, it at length settles. An Astrologer telling him, he had gathered his high destiny from the Constellation, under which he was born, he answered, it might very well be, but the Stargazer ought to have remembered the second birth, which is obtained by Baptism, and annuls the prognostics of the first. A person saying, that the study of sacred literature should so take us up as to leave no leisure for other studies; and another replying, that other Sciences should be called in as Handmaids, the Cardinal replied, I suppose, Sir, you have read, that *Agar* was cast out, because she was such. He had frequently advised a Bishop to leave *Rome* and return to the care of his Diocese; and on the Prelate's saying, he was setting out in order to stay there a month; he answered, I have, at least, this satisfaction, that your punishment will be so much the lighter, *vapulabis minus*. Being desired to read a letter written to a Nobleman, on the death of a person, who was very dear to him, which had great ostentation of eloquence and in a very affected style, he said, he had never seen a letter of greater consolation, since whoever read it could not refrain from laughter. Having heard a celebrated Preacher, who had a high opinion of himself, and being asked what he thought of him; very well, says he, but I would have him, first preach to himself. A person of quality of *Rome*, who was making great improvements at his Villa, saying to him, I hope your Lordship will see this place, thirty years hence, in its full beauty; the CARDINAL replied, I don't know, Sir, by what I have deserved so ill of you that you, should wish my banishment from my true Country should be prolonged to so distant a

term; and therefore cannot accept your invitation. Having waited two days when he was in *Flanders*, for an Audience of the Emperor; on the third, the Bishop of *Arras* came to signify to him, that the Emperor sent for him, and excused the delay, which had been caused by his Majesty's indisposition; truly, said the CARDINAL, I thought it something strange that having every day access to Almighty God in behalf of the Emperor, I should be refused access to the Emperor, when I came on the part of Almighty God. Mention being made of a Gentleman, who took great care of his beard, and said it cost him two crowns a month; the beard, therefore, replied the CARDINAL, is of greater value than the head.

He had an utter aversion to flattery and falsehood; and delivered his opinion with so good a grace as not to displease those from whom he dissented: and several of the sacred College acknowledged that no one had ever taken offence at the ingenuous freedom with which he spoke his sentiment in the Consistory: which, perhaps, could be said of few or none but himself.

He was wary and circumspect in his ordinary conversation, even with his intimate friends; and nothing imprudent, or what might appear less becoming his person, was ever remarked to have passed his lips; and this was one of the indications of consummate wisdom, which his Acquaintance chiefly admired.

His temper was open and ingenuous, being unacquainted with the wiles of policy, and the corruption of the great world. When he was in *Flanders*, whither *Julius III.* had sent him to negotiate a peace between the Emperor and the French King, and a rumour was spread that a Courier, who was charged with several dispatches, and, amongst others, with some to the CARDINAL, had been intercepted; a discourse arose concerning some persons, who had reason to be anxious on that occasion, lest their designs should come to light; for my own part, says CARDINAL POLE, I am perfectly easy on that subject, since I ought rather to wish that

that all mine were laid open. A sentence worthy Him who was conscious of nothing but what was laudable.

His industry and application were equal to the extent and facility of his genius, and his leisure hours were always employed either in writing or thinking on something that might promote the service of his Maker and the welfare of Mankind. This disposition seemed inbred in him, and made him observe with some uneasiness those Loiterers, who attend no calling and whose time is a perpetual vacation. He detested the foolish and perverse opinion of the Vulgar, who look on a lazy and unprofitable life as the privilege of wealth and quality; whereas nothing, he said, could be more foreign to a noble extraction, whose duty it was to be taken up with what was useful and honourable.

His learning and eloquence in the Latin tongue have been acknowledged by All who are acquainted with his works, most of which are wrote in that language. He did not, however, always give that attention to correctness, in which the noted Writers of his age, and particularly his intimate friends the Cardinals *Sadolet*, *Contarini*, and *Bembo* excelled; but where this is not overlooked, no writings of those times are more finished *. He had attained this skill in so eminent a degree at a very early period of life, that it does not appear capable of being carried to any higher perfection. In some of his works there is an exuberance of style, which, if it had been reduced to the ancient Roman accuracy, would have added greatly to their merit. The same Asiatic diffuseness was observed in the Roman Oration, and in both was owing to the wonderful fruitfulness of their genius, which furnished them on every subject, with a variety of thoughts and expressions. In the latter years of his life, when he was taken up with the Church affairs of a great

* Witness his life of *Longolius*, several letters to *Sadolet*, &c. and, among others, that placed at the end of this *Work*.

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE

People, his neglect of the graces of diction is very visible: but though it takes off from the praise of the Writer, it adds to that of the Man. Notwithstanding this disadvantage, the use he had acquired in writing made his style still abound with beauties, which seemed to flow from Him without his knowledge. His attention was great, and as he easily retained what he read, his knowledge of History was accurate and universal.

In his youth he was more delighted with *Plato* than *Aristotle*; but, at length, he applied himself wholly to sacred studies, and laid aside all others. At first, he read the Greek and Latin Expositors of the holy Scriptures; but afterwards, he studied these only. A constant meditation on the Old and New Testament had made the knowledge of them so familiar to him, that he seemed to have learnt nothing else; and the most expert Divines of his time confessed his proficiency in this Science to have been superior to any thing they had ever met with.

I HAVE already related what the Lord *Priuli*, who was present at his Lectures on the Scripture whilst he was at *Liege*, thought of them, and Cardinal *Seripandi*, writing to St. *Thomas* of *Villa Nova*, Archbishop of *Valentia* in *Spain*, says, he never heard him discourse on divine matters, but he seemed a Being of a higher Order, who brought from above the eternal Truths of the Gospel, rather than a Man*.

His custom was, first, to write down what occurred to him on the subject of his reading, and then to compare his own observations with those of others on the same places. But as to the Epistles of St. *Paul*, in which there are many difficult and intricate passages, Cardinal *Hierom Seripandi*, a person of rare erudition and piety, informs us of the method by which He judged the knowledge of them was to be attained. His words are these. "I have been told, says he, that when CARDINAL POLE

* *Reg. Pole*, Epist. pars 2^a pag. 4. Præf.

was

was consulted by what method the hidden and obscure passages of St. *Paul's* Epistles might be unfolded and brought to light, he used to make the following answer: that the most ready and expeditious way he could propose, was for the Reader to begin at the latter part of the Epistles, where the Apostle treats of morality; and to practise what was delivered there; and then go back to the beginning, where the doctrinal parts are reasoned on with great acuteness and subtlety. This speech, continues *Seripandi*, was truly becoming so great a man, whose probity, religion, and sanctity of manners were no less admirable than his erudition. His discernment in divine matters gave him to understand that pure and upright minds attain with ease the knowledge of the most sublime and abstracted truths; whereas those who neglect the practical and more intelligible parts of Holy Writ, as profane persons, were forbid access to the Sanctuary." On other occasions he was accustomed to say, that whoever betook themselves to the study of the Scriptures were to behave like those who were admitted to the inner part of the Temple through a low and narrow entrance: and that none should aspire to this Science on a presumption of their parts and learning; but bring to it an humble mind, and an understanding, as the Apostle speaks, under the subjection of Faith. He used, likewise, to give this caution to All who studied the Scriptures, that the desire of worldly honour or wealth should have no influence in such an undertaking; since nothing could be more foreign to it: that the mind should be prepared by prayer, and, as has been said, free from ambition and every sinful and irregular attachment.

He left behind him many excellent Works, several of which I have had occasion to speak of in the course of this History, and to give such extracts from each as may enable the Reader to have a sufficient insight into the subject, and bring him acquainted with the Author's manner of treating it. The chief of them are *the life* of his Friend *Longolius*, four Books *on the unity*
of

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE

of the Church, addressed to Henry VIII; to which he added a Preface to Edward VI. his Son *. *An Apology to Charles V.* in which there is an Analysis of *Machiavel's* Politics †. I have taken notice elsewhere, that he was the first who detected the pernicious tendency of this Author's writings, almost as soon as they appeared, and a few years after the Author's death. A treatise on the nature of a General Council: a Dialogue on the Duties of the Papacy; which he wrote in the Conclave, and, afterwards enlarged: the Canons of the National Synod of the Church of England. A dissertation on the Baptism of Constantine, on the day of our Saviour's birth; and a Dialogue on his Passion. A discourse on Peace, to the Emperor and French King. Several letters to Sadoleto. The Commentaries he wrote, in his youth, on all Cicero's works, were never printed and the Manuscript is lost. His posthumous works were numerous, but more weighty concerns hindered him from putting the last hand to them; and they were consigned to Cardinal Moron, his intimate friend; amongst these were a Commentary on the Prophet Isaiah and the Psalms, and other Books of the Scriptures; a large treatise on the manner of Preaching, and several others, some of which were in English. I have seen at Oxford, A book of the Statutes of that University, with the Manuscript Notes of CARDINAL POLE.

THOUGH his dispositions, as has been said, inclined him rather to privacy and retirement than to the active scenes of public life, yet he was very dextrous in the management of business, and gained esteem in those very undertakings which were not attended with success. This appears in his Embassies to Courts which had the most opposite views and interests; in the Government of Viterbo; in the Council of Trent; in the arduous task of

* *Basilie*, anno 1570. præfigitur *Longolii* epistolis.

† *Reg. Poli*, pars 1^a pag. 136.

bringing

bringing over his Country to its ancient belief; and in the plan of Discipline, of which I have given an abstract, and which can never be too much commended. His prudence and foresight enabled him to consider things in an universal light, and were exempt from those perturbations which are the greatest obstacles to the desired event of what we undertake. He waited the opportunity of business, which made him, sometimes, seem slow to those who were unacquainted with the suitableness of circumstances; and as such persons don't take their measures from the nature of affairs, but from humour, they cannot fail of taking those that are improper. When any of his Friends seemed to desire a quicker dispatch, his answer was, that they must let him go on his usual pace, for if they hurried him, it would fare with them as with those who spur a pacing horse, which only makes his gait more uneasy.

THE elevation of his mind and his excellent virtues placed him above those Passions to which vulgar souls are enslaved, lust, anger, envy, and avarice, and fixed him on pursuits of a nobler sort. His whole behaviour from early youth was so perfectly clear of any suspicion of incontinence, that he was esteemed by All who knew him to have lived exempt from any weakness of this kind*. When his Domesticks had done any thing which deserved reprehension, he always took care to give it without any indication of choler; and timed it so as it might be well received by the delinquent and produce an amendment. His temper was so remarkably even and free from resentment, that several who were but little acquainted with him, and guided themselves by very different maxims, thought that on some occasions he wanted dignity and let himself down too much. Though *Gardiner* had endeavoured first to obstruct his return to his Country, and then

* *Expers omnis libidinis totâ vitâ tum in Angliâ tum extra Angliam habitus est. Vita Poli, fol. 39, à tergo.*

to obscure his reputation and lessen his authority with *Philip* and the English Ministry; yet, on his return, when the Queen's confidence in him was such, as the Lord of *Neailles* writes to his Court, "that it was plain she neither would nor could live without having him about her person;" on all occasions he shewed a singular esteem for that great Minister; and, after his death, always mentioned him with honour.

He was too well versed in the moral of the Gospel not to have learnt from the divine Author of it the difficult lesson of forgiving injuries: A proof of this are the several instances I have given of his dispositions toward *Henry VIII.* Three Englishmen came to *Capranica* with a design to murder him; and when they were taken up on suspicion, confessed their crime, and that the King had sent them on that shameful and wicked errand. Being convicted, he would have them only condemned to the Gallies for a few days, alleging the offence regarded himself alone. He used the like clemency to some Italians who had contrived his death at *Viterbo*, and caused them to be set at liberty. I am informed, says the Writer of his life, from one who was present, that having received advice of the injurious prosecution which *Paul IV.* carried on against him, he was sensibly touched at it and justified himself by a short treatise addressed to the Pope. The subject led him to some things not very honourable to the Pontiff, and having finished the piece and caused a fair copy of it to be drawn off, he perused it by the fire side, and threw both the transcript and the original into the flames, repeating this injunction of the old law, *thou shalt not discover thy Father's ignominy.*

He had from temper and constitution, great generosity and a propension to acts of benevolence, and his charity was universal. He not only took care that no assistance was wanting to the meanest of his Domesticks, in time of sickness, but frequently visited them himself, and furnished poor students and persons of probity, who were reduced, with the means of subsistence.

subſiſtence. I remember, ſays the above-mentioned Writer, that having received at *Trent*, when he was Legate, four thouſand Ducats of arrears due to him on a Penſion from the Biſhoprick of *Granada*, he ſaid, he had no occaſion for ſuch an extraordinary ſupply, having hitherto lived clear of debt without it, and immediately divided it amongſt his Family, giving to each according to his rank and deſerts. *Victoria Colonna*, Marchioness of *Pescara* left him, by her Will, 10,000 crowns: but he reſuſed to accept of any part of ſo conſiderable a legacy, and ordered the whole to be paid to that Lady's Niece, when ſhe married Don *Garcia* of *Toledo*, Son to the Viceroy of *Naples*. Being returned to his Country, he beſtowed with the ſame munificence, almoſt three thouſand pounds on thoſe of his Houſhold who had followed him from *Italy*; and to ſuch as were deſirous to go back again, he ordered, moreover, horſes and wherewith to defray the expence of the journey. On occaſions which called for magnificence, he ſhewed his diſpoſition to be as noble as his birth; yet, as I have ſaid, he regulated his expences by the means he had to ſupport it; when theſe increaſed, his bounty, like the Sun, ſpread its ray, and ſhone away the ſuperfluity. I have already ſpoke of the Income he received from *England*, whiſt the King continued the allowance he at firſt aſſigned him. As ſoon as he was honoured with the Purple, that penſion ceaſed, and whatever belonged to him was conſiſcated. *Paul III.* allotted him two hundred crowns a month, on which he ſubſiſted, ſome time, at *Rome*; and *Giberti*, Biſhop of *Verona*, who as we have ſeen, had a ſingular eſteem for his merit, and knew how much his fortune fell ſhort of his rank and occaſions, bequeathed to him a yearly penſion of 2000 Ducats on the Archbiſhoprick of *Granada*, which he was empowered to transfer, and another benefice in the Church of *Valentia* of the yearly value of 800 more. At the death of the Cardinal of *Ravenna*, which happened in 1549, the Pope conferred on him a poſt in the

Diocese of *Adria*, the annual profits of which amounted to 1000 crowns.

THIS was his Revenue till he was recalled to *England*. *Paul III.* who bore him a singular affection, would have conferred on him the Bishoprick of *Spoletto*, which being in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, is esteemed a very desirable preferment; but as he thought the character of Cardinal would oblige him to be much at *Rome* which was incompatible with Episcopal residence, he refused to accept of it with so much modesty and disinterestedness as neither to displease the Pope, or offend those whose conduct such maxims might seem to censure.

ON his return to his Country, being named by the Queen to the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, he could not be prevailed on to accept of that high dignity, till the Pope had assured him, he should not be recalled from *England*, and he sent *Godwell*, Bishop of *St. Asaph* to *Rome*, that this affair being settled, his Conscience might be at ease. Besides the Revenues of this See, the Queen allotted him a pension of 1500 pounds on the Bishoprick of *Winchester*. She did this of her own motion; for in the high favour he enjoyed with her Majesty, he asked nothing for himself, nor entered any claim for what he had a right to, nor so much as mentioned it. The Earldom of *Warwick* was devolved to him by inheritance; yet all the instances of his family to make out his title, could never prevail on him to do so. He was invested with the most ample Legantine powers, which, had he made the same use of as others had done, would have been very lucrative. But he was so far from enriching himself by this Office, that the manner in which he exercised it put him to a considerable expence. Every department of it was served without fees; and where the Laws prescribed a Fine, it was employed for the relief of the Needy, or put to such uses as Piety countenanced.

HIS Cathedral likewise experienced the effects of his liberality: He obtained of the Queen the Patronage of nineteen Parishes for

for the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*; and endowed it with some houses built by him, and a ground rent on the East side of *Lambeth*. He gave the Metropolitan Church a pair of large gilt Candlesticks, a Censer in the shape of a ship, a Mitre adorned with Jewels, a Silver Crozier or Pastoral Staff, a Cross, two Pontifical rings of great value, a large silver Cistern for holy water; and he makes mention in his Will of above 1000 pounds laid out in repairs of houses belonging to his See. He founded, by his will, a mortuary service, for the repose of his soul and those of his Parents and family, to be performed by two Priests, whom the Chapter was to appoint: but this disposition was set aside on the change of Religion, which immediately followed his death. He designed, if he had lived, to have built a stately Palace at *Canterbury*.

He was so little touched with that infirmity of noble minds, the Love of Fame, that, though no one of that golden Age, in which Learning was revived, had a greater disposition for eloquence, or fairer opportunities to improve it than himself, he laid aside all such views as soon as the exigencies of his Country called for other succours. He refused, when very young, the Archbishoprick of *York*, offered to him by *Henry VIII.* on terms inconsistent with his duty; and, afterwards, the Papacy, which the sacred College would have conferred on him. On his return from banishment, he declined, as much as in him lay, the See of *Canterbury* and the other honours by which his Sovereign and the two Universities testified their sense of his merit.

This spirit, which was superior to ambition, was enobled by a fortitude and greatness of soul, of which all praise would be short in comparison of a plain narrative of the instances, in which it was exerted. Nor was this a philosophical firmness of mind, but grounded in an assured and steady confidence in God, whom he looked on as the best and wisest Disposer of all events, and, therefore,

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE

therefore to be equally adored and blessed in whatever happens to us, that only excepted, of which he cannot be the Author, moral Evil. This Principle, so becoming a Christian, supported him under the slanders which were raised against his reputation: in banishment, persecution, and confiscation of his fortunes; in the violent death of his Mother and eldest Brother; in the various trials to which rage, envy, and mistaken zeal exposed him: it caused him to pardon the repeated attempts made on his life, and to wish all good to the Prince, who was the Author of them. The same magnanimity shewed itself to no less advantage in the Christian moderation with which he bore his elevation, and when all eyes were open to admire, and all tongues to praise him.

His gratitude, and sense of good offices done him by others appear in the return he would have made to the obligations he had to *Priuli*, the dearest of his friends: in the application with which he promoted, at *Rome*, the interests of the Bishop and Prince of *Liege*, who had behaved to him with the greatest munificence and cordiality; and on all occasions in which those virtues could be exercised. The duty and love he bore the Countess of *Shrewsbury*, his Mother, and his affection for his Brothers and Family, though a superior order to what is generally understood by social virtues, are to be ranked with them; and the Love of his Country crowned them all.

If we consider what he did and suffered on this Principle, we shall confess no one had ever a better claim to the title of a *Patriot* than CARDINAL POLE. He opposed at a very early period of life, the attempts of a wilful Tyrant, who governed by no other rule than the capriciousness of his passions; and made or antiquated Laws, and disposed of the lives and property of his People, just as the present caprice was to be gratified. He never ceased thinking and writing on what he judged would be to the advantage

advantage of his Country; and chose banishment and dependance rather than consent to measures which were destructive of its Religion and Laws.

WHEN he was restored to it, he acted with no other view than its tranquillity and happiness. He prevailed on the Clergy to give up all their claim to the Church Lands; and on the Pope, to confirm, in the most ample and irrevocable form, this cession to the Lay Owners. The Abbé of *San Salute*, who was one of his chief Confidants, did an infinite number of good offices as the Lord *Noailles*, the French Ambassador informs us, in opposition to Spanish measures; and the CARDINAL, says the same Author, was an enemy to all violence, and particularly to any scheme of subduing the Nation by force.

Amongst the many congratulations which came to him from all parts, on his being honoured with the Purple, one was from the Doge and Senate of *Venice*; to whom, in his answer, he assigns this reason for being little affected with the honour conferred on him, *quia Vox Patriæ aberat*: for though his reputation began to expand itself on all parts, he refused to enjoy the gale, of which his Country did not partake.

See Part I.
pag. 163.

He had no sooner heard that *Henry* had resolved the death of Bishop *Fisher* and Sir *Thomas More*, but, foreseeing the scene of bloodshed, of which this was to be the prelude, he immediately sent a Courier from *Padua* to *Charles V.* to inform the Emperor of the calamities with which the whole Nation and particularly that Prince's Aunt, Queen *Catharine*, were threatened, if that Act of blood was not prevented. In fine, on *Mary's* accession, he overlooked all the sweets of a studious and contemplative life, which he had chosen at *Maruza*, and embarked, as he says, with a full knowledge of the difficulties he was to encounter, on the stormy and turbulent ocean of a new and divided administration.

He had ever shown remarkable mildness to those who dissented

Part I.
pag. 300.

Hist. Ref.
Vol. 2d.

sent from the doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, as we have seen in his Government of *Viterbo*, and particularly in the case of *Flaminius*. He pursued the same method in *England*, so as to extort this concession from *Dr. Burnet*, "that such qualities and such a temper, could he have brought others into the same measures, would probably have gone far towards bringing back this Nation to the Church of *Rome*; as he was a man of as great probity and virtue as any of the age he lived in." He gained *Sir John Cheek*, as I have already related, by this Christian and persuasive manner of proceeding; and, next to his own family, was observed to converse chiefly with Secretary *Cecil*. He extended the same lenient arts even to *Cranmer*, in order to bring him over to a better way of thinking.

THOUGH he was at the head of the Council, he used no violence nor intrigues to bring others into his measures, which were always moderate, and, therefore, frequently widely different from the generality of those who composed it. Having modestly declared his own sentiments, he referred every thing to the Majority; and had learnt from a Pagan, of whose writings he was a professed Admirer, to distinguish between bearing what we cannot help, and approving what we ought to condemn*. In Religious matters, which were more peculiarly his Department, he observed the same conduct; and suffered rigours to be exercised which were no less contrary to his judgment than inclination. Thus, what has been blamed in his behaviour as too passive, was the result of his deference to the Laws and Constitutions of his Country, which did not allow him to strain the tender strings of Government, nor exert an undue authority on any pretext whatever. When he was at full liberty to act on his own principles, as in the Government of *Viterbo*, and the Diocese

* Non enim est idem ferre, si quid ferendum est; et probare, si quod probandum non est. *Cic. Ep. Fam. 9. 6.*

of *Canterbury*, his behaviour was such as to give his Enemies a pretext to misrepresent his lenity towards those who erred, as an indication of his favouring error. His behaviour when he presided at the Council of *Trent* is a further proof of the good will he bore to those who had left the Church; and that he looked on all deviations from truth as a misfortune which called for our compassion to those who were fallen into them.

It has been hinted before, that his inclination led him to retirement, which caused him, in his youth, to shun Courts and much Company; and, when he was advanced to the Purple, to withdraw, as often as he could, to religious houses and other solitary places, and follow Nature when he could do it without a neglect of Duty. His Retirements were the most useful instruction of the use such leisure should be put to, as they did not shut out the real advantages of Society, and become an abode of every meanness and abjection of the mind, and thus end in an exclusion of improvement, politeness, and freedom of thought. His retreat was of a very different kind, and withdrew him from the vices and follies of the world, and whatever was foreign to his profession, or might be a hindrance to study, piety, or the discharge of his Duty. It consisted in the opportunities of laying a settled ground-work of that elevation of mind, which always represented to him the service of his Maker and the good of Mankind as the end of his Actions; and enabled him to look down on the advantages of his birth, the honours he was raised to, and the reputation he had gained, with the same superiority and disengagement, as a great Princess did on the Badges of Royalty in that memorable prayer she made to her Maker. Such a Retreat admitted every intellectual and moral improvement, a correspondence with the wisest and best men of those times; and made his Life like a gentle stream, which does not only glide through lonely vales, but visits, in its course, populous Cities, and is, at once, their wealth and ornament.

Hester,
Chap. 14.
ver. 16.

PART II.

H h

He

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE

He was much addicted to communication with God by prayer and contemplation of divine matters, as the proper object of the mind of man, and of which, when the organ is not vitiated, a due perception follows of course. Before he entered holy Orders, he received the Blessed Eucharist on all Sundays; and the Bishop of St. *Asaph*, who was many years his Chaplain, used to relate of him, that at *Capranica*, and elsewhere, he assisted the Priest at the Altar, and even put on and took off his vestments, and rendered him, both before and after the sacrifice, all the offices of a menial Clerk. When he had received the Priesthood he never omitted to celebrate the holy Mysteries at least once a week. His accuracy in all the ceremonies and rites of the Liturgy, was as observable as the recollected air with which he performed them: the very tone of his voice, his countenance, every gesture spoke the awe with which he was penetrated, and the attention with which he offered to Almighty God the great sacrifice of atonement, and praise, of impetration and thanksgiving.

THERE was no incident which did not suggest to his mind sentiments of the most tender and enlightened piety, and furnish him with an opportunity of stirring them up in others. *Philip* had sent the Queen a Crucifix from *Spain**: and the Pope had presented the King with a rich Cap of Maintenance and a Belt; and the Queen, with a golden Rose of exquisite workmanship, which curiosities were to be delivered by the CARDINAL, and his ingenious piety supplied him with various moral and religious reflexions on these subjects, which are come down to us in two very edifying Letters†. A young Monk, his friend *Contareni*'s Nephew, complained to him, that he found much dissipation in the office his Superior had placed him in; and the CARDINAL's advice to him is writ with a knowledge of the duties of a Mo-

* *R. Poli*, Epist. pars 5^a, pag. 58.

† *Ibid*, pag. 36.

nastic Profession no less than if he had spent his life in the study and practice of them *.

THOUGH he found great inconvenience from fasting and fish diet, he could never be prevailed on to interrupt the Fast of Lent, till sickness, into which he fell almost every year, obliged him to it; and he chose rather to enjoy a less good state of health than that his example should give offence,

THESE qualifications fitted REGINALD POLE for Episcopacy, and the highest Order of it, the Primateship of a large and populous Kingdom. I have already given the Reader several instances of the manner in which he acquitted himself of the duties of this station; and I shall here give him the sentiments he entertained of it, and the principles on which he filled up the measure of its obligations. These may be gathered from the following abstract of two of his Letters.

"I WAS yesterday informed, says he, writing to *Miranda*, a Spanish Prelate, and his particular Friend, that the King had conferred on you the Archbishoprick of *Toledo*; and I thought it an event on which I ought not to be silent, as it is customary to congratulate our Friends, when they obtain a Post either of honour or profit. But though you are now named to a dignity not inferior to any of the Church, the Papacy only excepted, yet the time of congratulation is not yet come. I may, indeed, felicitate his Majesty on the choice he has made, as having been solely guided by the learning and manners of a Person, who is equal to the charge. But, as for yourself, my dear *Miranda*, on what title can I wish you joy, till I hear how you behave in this exalted station? If neither ambition or solicitation had any part in this promotion; if you are not elated by the honours and wealth it brings with it; if your assent to the choice made of your person was a deference you owed to him by whom you was nomi-

* *Reg. Poli.* part 4th, pag. 21.

26th Sept.
1557.

nated, and proceeded from a desire of discharging the duties of your Ministry (and the opinion I have of your Virtue persuades me that this is really the case) you have given great subject of joy to your true friends, and particularly to the large Province committed to your care; but you yourself stand in need of comfort, instead of expecting compliments *."

IN the other Letter, where the same great Prelate had informed the CARDINAL that he was blamed for living at Court and not residing in his Diocese, he answers the objections made to his conduct, and enters on a very particular discussion of the point in debate. "If, says he, I was absent from my Diocese, and detained here by any thing but necessity, and such a necessity as regards the Ecclesiastical more than the Civil State of this Kingdom, I should deem myself utterly inexcusable. But whether this be really the case, or whether I deceive myself and impose on others, I can judge by no other criterion than that I am not conscious of having in view either honours or riches, or any private emolument for myself, or any who belong to me; which if I did, I should be the first to condemn myself. These are my real dispositions, and are visible to All who are acquainted with me, and on this account I am more at ease; yet I don't presume to justify myself, but constantly pray to the Searcher of hearts, that if I swerve from what is right, he would lead me back into his paths which are the rule of righteousness. However, I am so far from appealing to this supreme Judgment-seat as if I was not accountable to the Tribunal of the Public, that I am desirous to hear even the unfavourable opinion which any particular person may entertain of me, those especially of whose friendship I am persuaded.

"ALL I would insinuate is, that he who would decide whether my presence be more useful here, or elsewhere, ought to be

* *Reg. Poli*, pars 5^a, pag. 36.

thoroughly

thoroughly acquainted with the Civil and Ecclesiastical state of this Kingdom, and with the Revolutions of the late years, during which the ancient form of Religion, which now begins again to take place, was entirely changed. He must likewise be informed of the dispositions of all Orders of the Realm, and of many things which personally regard the Queen.

"I DON'T presume to infer from hence that my presence is more necessary here than it would be elsewhere; but Persons, who understand the condition of the Church and State, on my earnest petition to the Queen, that I might give myself wholly to my Pastoral charge, represented to me in the strongest terms, how ill-timed such a step would be, and that every motive both of Religion and Love of my Country obliged me to continue with her Majesty. Should they be mistaken, this I am sure of, that my inclination draws me to my Church, where I should find all the great comforts of life much more at hand than where I am, and where nothing detains me but the entreaties and advice of persons of probity, and Her desire, to whom this National Church is so much indebted, and who is too conscientious to insist on such a measure, unless she judged the welfare of her People interested in it. I will only exemplify this in a single instance: It has pleased their Majesties to give back the Church Lands, which were invested in the Crown; and to make use of me in the distribution of them: now, to do this so that the Parochial Clergy may have a decent maintainance, on which Church Discipline so much depends, is so perplexed an affair, and attended with so many difficulties, that I could never extricate myself without their assistance who cannot be absent from the Court."

MIRANDA had likewise testified some surprise at the CARDINAL's not visiting several Parishes in *London* which belonged to him: to which he answers, "that although instruction from the Pulpit was generally understood by these visitations, yet the daily experience he had of the infected and infirm state of the Kingdom,

Ezek. ch.
33. v. 31.

dom, had informed him, that the neglect and abuse of the Word of God was proportioned to the opportunities Men had of hearing it: and this was no where more visible than in *London*; that unless the Discipline of the Church was previously settled, Sermons were rather hurtful than beneficial, because Carnal men came to them as an amusement, and verified what was said to the Prophet, *they sit before thee, as if they were my People, and hear thy words, but will not do them; for with their mouth they shew much love, but their heart goes after covetousness: and so thou art to them as a delightful song of one that has a pleasing voice, and can play well on an Instrument; for they hear thy words, but do them not.* This, continues he, is here the case, for when the Sermon is over, the Audience, were they not constrained by the Laws, would not assist at the holy Sacrifice, nor at the Church Offices, and would wholly neglect Ecclesiastical Discipline; wherefore, if more pains were taken in settling what concerned this, than in preaching, it was no more than the present state of the Nation seemed to require; that he did not deny the expediency of the latter, where there was any prospect of its being heard with profit; and, therefore, the Bishop of *London*, *Henry Cole*, who was his, the LEGATE's Chancellor, and Dean of *London*, and other learned and pious persons were not wanting to this duty; that a Sermon was preached every Sunday at *St. Paul's Cross*, which was much frequented. That himself had frequently preached in his Metropolitan and other Churches, and twice at *London*, and should continue to do so, and to correct and regulate what he saw had need of it. He mentions the National Synod he had lately held; the Homilies in the English language which were soon to be published, and *Miranda's Catechism*, which was translating into the same tongue; and says, that though oppressed with business, he had never failed to publish from time to time such treatises as he judged salutary to

to his People; and never had nor would be wanting to that duty of a Pastor which consists in Instruction*.”

Richmond,
22d June,
1558.

THESE Virtues of CARDINAL POLE were so known and celebrated through Europe, that those who had never seen, yet loved and honoured him. He was highly esteemed by Charles V. who was acquainted with him, and used to say, he did not know a better Man than the English CARDINAL; though reasons of state, as they are termed, sometimes hindered that Prince from shewing him that regard which an honest Man would have done. Francis I. King of France, having seen and conversed with him, regretted he was late acquainted with his merit, and said if he had known it sooner, no other person should have had his interest for the Papacy at the death of Paul III. Henry II. desired to advance him to the same dignity, when it was vacated by the death of Julius III. and Marcellus. He was held in equal esteem by Paul III. of the Farnesian family; and by Henry VIII. of England, as long as his regard was any commendation; by Victoria Colonna, Marchioness of Pescara, a character above all Greek and Roman fame: by the sacred College, who would have raised him to the Popedom: by Philip and Mary; the latter of whom had a confidence in him without reserve: by both the Universities, and the whole English Nation. The same account was made of him by the great men of the age he lived in, by Erasmus, Sir Thomas More, and Bishop Fisher, and the Restorers of learning of the University of Padua; by the Cardinals Sadolet, Contareni, and Bembo, who were some of the most polite Writers of those times. The usual appellation by which he was distinguished, was that of the modest and learned Cardinal. Madrutius, Cardinal of Trent, a person of great endowments and experience, was accustomed to say, he valued himself chiefly on two accounts; for having been employed by Charles V. and

See Part I.
pag. 304.

* Reg. Poli, Epist. pars 5^a, pag. 69.

having

having loved and honoured the CARDINAL of *England*: And Cardinal *Seripandi*, in the letter I have mentioned to *St. Thomas* of *Villa-nova*, says, he was a person of such singular virtue, piety and learning, and so much esteemed by good men, that those who refused him their approbation were not to be ranked in that number; that himself never expected any greater felicity than to have been admitted into his friendship and familiarity; and should never end was he to relate what he knew of his integrity, the sanctity of his life, and patience in adversity, a virtue which is the proper badge of Christianity*.

His name, say the Authors of his Life, was, at the time they wrote, still fresh in the minds of all good Men, and cherished by them; and was long the common Topic of Conversation. His memory was so acceptable to Princes and Men in power, that whoever had been any time in his family was sure to meet with their favour and protection.

T H E E N D.

APPENDIX.

The two following Pieces are referred to in the First Part of the Work; under Number I. and Number II. the first, page 25, in the Note: the second, page 86.

NUMBER I.

MA RTIN LUTHER wrote, in the German language, a Book on *private Masses and the anointing of Priests*, and prevailed on his friend, *Justus Jonas*, to translate it into Latin. It contains, among other things, an account of what passed between himself and the Spirit of Darkness on the Articles which make the subject of the Work, and the arguments are set down by which the Devil prevailed on him to renounce the Catholic Doctrine on these heads. *Luther* represents his Antagonist not only as a plausible Sophister, but as an able Disputant; justifies the strength of his reasoning and partakes of the imaginary triumph over the Faith of the Church, which he ascribes to him; and then concludes, that Christians were at length freed from these tenets and practices. He seems really possessed by that Spirit, to whom he yields the victory, and through the whole narration, which cannot be read without horror, explodes the Tenets which the Devil had disapproved, by the most scurrilous invectives and every kind of insult and mockery. *Op. Mar. Luth. t. 7. fol. 228, & seq. Edit. Wirtembergæ, anni 1557.*

N U M B E R II.

REGINALDUS POLUS JACOBO SADOLETO,

Episc. Carpentoracti, S. P. D.

GRATIAS tibi agam prius, (ita enim rerum ordo, et mei officii ratio postulant) deinde ad mandata tua converterar. Neque verò illa solum me ad agendum gratias impellunt, quæ tu in me præsentem officia contulisti: cum me domo atque hospitio honorificè sanè lautèque acciperes, cum animum meum, tui congressus cupidissimum, erudito illo et pleno gravitatis sermone retineres, et planè pasceres: atque maximis de rebus quærentem et hæsitantem, omni prorsus scrupulo et dubitatione liberares. Quæ quidem quoties in mentem revoco (revoco autem sæpissimè) quod de *Platonis* cœnâ dixit *Timotheus*, cum ab eo invitatus esset, et eundem postero die vidisset, cœnas *Platonis* non modò in præsentia, sed in posterum quoque diem esse jucundas: idem ego multò prolixius de tuo hospitio dicere possum; non modò in præsentia fuisse jucundum, sed in aliquot menses jam fuisse, atque idem, ut spero in multos annos futurum.

At verò cum à tua consuetudine, cujus ego suavitatem tum primum quasi gustare cœperam, tam citò dirimi, ac tanto locorum intervallo disjungi, animo sanè molestè ferrem, cum nec mihi tum integrum esset aliter facere, rationibus meis sic ferentibus, et in hæc loca penè trahentibus: ne huic quidem dolori meo defuisti. Inita enim à te ratio est, quemadmodum eo quo tantopere delectabar, non usquequaque privarer, sed ut te etiam absens aliqua ex parte fruerer, adjuncto mihi ejusmodi itineris comite, qui te mihi quotidie reddebat, qui jucundissimos tuos, et gravissimos sermones sine intermissione referebat, nec sanè intermori eam, quam ex consuetudine tua voluptatem cepi, ullo pacto finebat.

linebat. Quis enim te ipsum melius exprimere potuit, quam tu, quam scripta tua, quam liber ille tuus quem per me *Bemba* reddi voluisti? In quo prudentia tua, gravitas, doctrina, quibus maxime delectabar, elucet. Hunc certe mihi comitis loco accepi: qui non modò mihi in brevi illa et paucorum dierum via, quæ in *Italiam* properanti instabat, pro vehiculo fuit, quod de facundo comite dici solet: sed in longo totius vitæ cursu, in quo maxime, et periculosissime laboratur, et vehiculi, et ducis locum facile obtineret. Ex quo quidem hanc primo aspectu voluptatem cepi, quod mihi cogitationem omnem de eo, in quod ingressus eram, itinere, impedito sanè et molesto, abstulit, meque totum in contemplationem præclari illius itineris abduxit, quod te duce et monstratore, adolescenti ad laudem et decus tendenti, certum et gloriosum proponebatur. In quo quidem valde delectabar, eum quasi oculis, sic animo cernerem, te gravissimum et prudentissimum senem, ut peritum gubernatorem, gnarum et locorum et maris, siderumque et tempestatum omnium, sic animo providum, sic omnia pericula longè lateque prospicientem, ut nihil non prædiceres et præcaveres, quod vel impedire tam præclarum cursum, vel in periculum ducere posset. Qui non cuivis adolescenti, in vulgi moribus educato, vulgaribus parentibus orto, et qui filiorum educationem in postremis haberent, te ducem profitearis: sed illi qui ab optimis parentibus penè antequam in lucem puer ederetur, huic tam præclaræ expeditioni fuerit destinatus: cujus educationi natura non obfistere, sed suas dotes benigne largiendo, se fautricem sponderet. Qui ab incunabulis sic eductus, sic literis et moribus formatus fuerit, quemadmodum est à te sanctissime et prudentissime præscriptum.

Hunc verò talem cum tibi ipse oratione formasses, vel potius natura sic formatum, et parentum votis huic rei destinatum, cum *Paulum* tuum accepisses, quid non voluptatis mihi præbuit præclarus ille, quem recensens, in eo instituendo apparatus? Deinde

cum ex puerili institutione, tanquam ex augustiis, cum abduxisses, et in latum illud, quod adolescentis institutioni quasi pelagus patebat, adduxisses, tum sanè maxime delectabar, cum te secundissimo illo orationis cursu, plenis eloquentiæ velis, ita omnes artes doctrinasque percurrentem viderem, ut cum nihil tibi tum aliud propositum esset, nisi ut earum artium sedes et loca, ubi ad tempus insistendum, atque ad majora et ulteriora tendenti commorandum esset, monstrares: ea tamen sic oratione illustras, sic artium singularum vires et virtutes explicas, ut prope monstrando in earum iam possessionem mittere adolescentem videaris, atque eas recensendo tradere. Hæc certè magna cum voluptate contemplantur. Sed quò magis me delectabant, eo sanè avidius expectabam, quò tandem præclarum istum cursum, quem tanto apparatu instituiisti, dirigeres: quem tibi portum proponeres. In qua expectatione statim se mihi in conspectum obtulit philosophiæ portus, quò te velis remisque properare, atque illic paulò post alumnum tuum relinquere videbam. Præclarus ille quidem, et omnibus aliis portus præferendus, si antiquis illis *Aristotelis* et *Platonis* temporibus, vel etiam si recentioribus *M. T. Ciceronis*, hic cursus abs te institutus fuisset, aut si ij gubernatores adolescenti tuo contigissent: nec enim illi profectò alium elegissent, nec facile tum alius tutior vel commodior reperiri potuit. Sed cum his felicibus temporibus cursum institueris tuum, quibus ut multi terrarum novi tractus insulæque et portus antiquitati incogniti, inventi sunt, pluribus eorum qui antiquitus celebres erant, vel mari obrutis, vel vetustate consumptis: sic etiam animorum portus multo tutior et tranquillior, Deo ipso, et eodem Dei filio duce et inventore nobis apertus sit, quem antiqui ignorabant. Cumque *Sadoletus* ipse, qui in hoc cursu gubernatoris locum obinet, etsi appulsus quidem ad antiquorum portum, tamen prætervectus sit, nec diutius ibi commoratus, quàm ut necessaria sibi inde sumeret ad reliquum cursum perficiendum, in hunc tandem, qui à Dei filio monstratus

fit

fit se receperit, ubi nunc summa cum animi tranquillitate et securitate vivit : quid est cur non *Paulus* tuus merito tecum conquerratur, si in alieno et infido jam portu eum relinquant, cum te ipsum in optimo et tutissimo collocaris ? Ego certe illius verbis tecum expostulare non dubitabo, si juvenem omnibus vel naturæ dotibus vel doctrinæ prædiis tua opera instructissimum, et plane talem qualem tu parentum votis expetendum proponis, fluctuantem jam in philosophiæ portu reliqueris : quæ ne portus quidem jam nomine digna sit : sed ut de *Tenedo* dixit Poëta,

NUNC tantum sinus, et statio malefida carinis.

ATQUI non nobis tantus iste in eo educando apparatus, nec præclara ista tua institutio, talem nobis promisit qui præcepta tandem vivendi à philosophis peteret, aut qui animi securitatis causa in illorum portum confugere necesse haberet : sed qui vel principibus ipsis philosophorum, si jam reviviscerent, novum et præstantius vivendi genus ostenderet, quo illi nunquam aspirare potuerunt ; sapientiam autem et animi tranquillitatem longè aliam, et aliunde quàm à philosophiæ præceptis petendam, tanto præstantiorem et diuturniorem ea quam philosophia promitteret, quantò humanis præstabiliora divina sunt.

QUARE age, mi *Sadolete*, noli promisso tuo, in tali juvene instituendo satisfactum putare, si eum ad philosophiæ limites perduxeris, aut etiam si philosophiam ipsam integram tradideris. Soluas inde oportet, neque unquam defatigare, donec in sacrum eundem portum, in quo tu ipse summa cum animi tranquillitate vivis, illum perduxeris. Nec enim convenit tam præstanti educationi, et illi quem omnium opinione, hæredem virtutis et sapientiæ tuæ es relicturus, in alio quàm quo ipse tabernaculum vitæ posueris, portu conquiescere.

HÆC ad te verbosius scripsi, vel tuo imperio obsequutus, qui me etiam de illo tuo libro, quem satis admirari non poteram, quid sentirem ad te scribere voluisti, vel meo in sacras illas Musas
amori

amori satisfaciens. Quas abs te illaudatas et tacitas præteriri, cum reliquas omnes artes et disciplinas dignis præconiis ornâris, vix æquo animo spectabam, vel etiam quod Langæo nostro, cujus liberis instituendis iste abs te labor præcipue sumptus sit, hoc imprimis gratum fore non dubitabam, si quod in philosophia et reliquis artibus facis, ut singularum laudes attingendo, ad earum studium adolescentum animos erigas, idem in Theologia facere non neglexeris: in qua reliquæ omnes, ut in oceano flumina, se immergere solent, et debent. Et certè convenit, ut quæ te ipsum maximè ornat, et indies magis magisque ornatura est, cum de iis disciplinis sermo sit, quarum cognitio humanos animos colit et perficit: ejus laudem haud quaquam silentio involvas: præsertim cum ad Langæum scribas, quem scio, quoties è negotiorum fluctibus, quibus in aula versantem jactari necesse est, emergere licet, in nullo libentius, quàm in Theologiæ portu conquiescere. Sed tu meæ loquacitati ignosces, qui cum sanctè adiurare possim, me his quatuor annis non tantum quidem Latine legisse, quantum nunc ad te scripsi, Theologorum libris avocatum, quos tamen in genere Latinorum scriptorum non pono, in hanc insolitam Latine scribendi loquacitatem erupi. Sed ut loquendi tecum, sic etiam scribendi ad te, quò cum absente quasi loqui videor, dulcedo quædam me longius ultra epistolæ fines provexit. Cui tu pro tua humanitate ignoscas oportet.

Nunc ad tua mandata venio. In quo eo brevior ero, quo pauciora mihi scribenda reliquerunt eorum literæ, ad quos mihi mandata et literas dedisti: quas jam spero ad tuas rescriptas te habere. Omnes enim receperunt, post paucos dies quibus id commodè facere possent, se tuæ voluntati esse satisfacturos. Bembi verò literas cum his ad te mitto: quem cum Venetiis salutarem, eique tuas literas unà cum libro darem, quantopere delectaretur de te, et de tuis studiis audire, pro vestra conjunctissima necessitudine, facilius est tibi existimare, quàm mihi scribere. Veronenſi verò Pontifici,

Pontifici, quem *Veronæ* salutavi, etiam tuas literas tradidi: qui me unum diem apud se detinuit, cum nullus penè nobis sermo esset, nisi de te, et de studiis tuis: cum sæpe se valde dolere ostenderet, suavissima consuetudine tua propter locorum intervallum, quo disjuncti estis, se privari. *Lazarum* tuum Patavii offendi, cui etiam tuas literas tradidi, cum ad me salutatum humanissimè venisset. Omnes verò tibi de ista animi tranquillitate et ocio gratulantur: ex quibus tam præclaros foetus oriri, et prodire in utilitatem publicam vident. Quæ ut tibi perpetua sint optant. Egoque imprimis, qui non minus præclaros sciam te jam parturire, quàm sunt hi qui jam sunt in lucem editi, hoc idem optare non desinam, partumque foelicissimum precari. Vale.

Venetis, IIII Calend. Novembr. M. D. XXXII.

IT has been objected to the Effigy of Cardinal Pole, which is prefixed to the first Part of this Work, and represents him as advanced in years, that it is attributed to Raphael, who died in the year 1520, when the Cardinal was only in the twentieth year of his age. But the Objectors did not reflect, that besides Raphael of Urbino, who died in the year they mention, there were several other great Masters of that name. To go no further than Raphael del Colle Borghese, who flourished chiefly whilst Cardinal Pole was in Italy, and the prime of whose life coincides with the decline of the Cardinal's: He was one of the most celebrated Artists under Guilio Romano, the favourite Disciple of Raphael of Urbino, and so esteemed by his Master, that he made him one of his Heirs, on condition he would finish the Pieces he left imperfect: Guilio died in 1546, and those who have seen the paintings of the Hall of Constantine and other public places in Rome, and in the stately Palace of Mantua, may remember the Works of Master and Scholar. They may, likewise, recollect the likeness of the Effigy in question to the Busts and Pictures of the Cardinal, which are still preserved in the Papal and other Collections. It has, also, a great resemblance to the Print prefixed to the first Part of Quirini's collection of his Letters: and, to come to proofs nearer home, to that in Brunet's Hist. Ref. engraved by White; that in Larrey's Hist. d' Ang. by P. à Gunst, which though small, is executed with great elegance: and, lastly, to a very large and beautiful Print in the collection of Andrew Stone, Esq; which represents the Cardinal in a fitting posture, and bears the name of Raphael.

E N D . 2^a .